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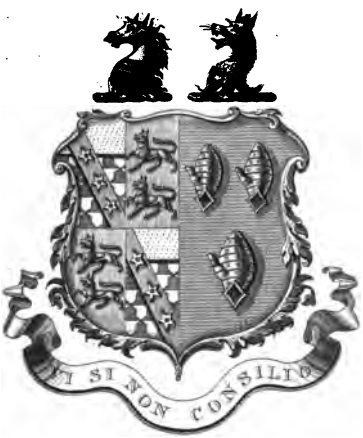

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THE HISTORY OF ART
OXFORD

A

NEW SYSTEM;

OR, AN

ANALYSIS

OF

ANTIENT MYTHOLOGY:

WHEREIN AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO DIVEST TRADITION OF FABLE; AND TO REDUCE THE TRUTH TO ITS ORIGINAL PURITY,

BY JACOB BRYANT, ESQ.

THE THIRD EDITION.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

WITH A PORTRAIT AND

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR;

A VINDICATION OF THE APAMEAN MEDAL;

Observations and Inquiries relating to various Parts of Antient History;

A COMPLETE INDEX,

AND FORTY-ONE PLATES, NEATLY ENGRAVED.

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1807.

A

NEW SYSTEM;

OR, AN

ANALYSIS

OF

ANTIENT MYTHOLOGY.

OF THE

MIGRATION

AND DISPERSION OF NATIONS.

Εγω δε περι πολλε τον αληθη λογον τιμεμενος και το ακριβες ανιχνευσαι δια σπεδης ποιεθεμην, ενθεν ὁρμηθεις εν τη προ ταυτης προταξει ὑλας εκποριζων ἑμαυτῳ, χρονων αναγραφας συνελεξα παντοιας. Georgius Monachus, p. 66.

IN the Mosaic history we have an account of the antediluvian world being destroyed by a deluge, the family of one man excepted, which was providentially preserved. The manner of their preservation I have described; and have shewn,

that the ark rested upon Mount Ararat, in a province of Armenia. This was the region in which mankind first began to multiply, and from whence they afterwards proceeded to their different places of allotment. It will therefore be necessary to give some account of this country; as from such an inquiry we shall find innumerable evidences still arise in confirmation of the primæval history: and there will be also many proofs obtained, in confirmation of my opinion, concerning the migration of mankind.

Armenia lay to the north of Aramea, or Mesopotamia: and one might be led to think, from the similarity of terms, that Armenia and Aramea were the same name. This, however, was not the case. Aramea was the land of Aram: but Armenia, which was separated from it by [1] Mount Taurus, was denominated from Ar-Men, and Har-Men, the mountain where the ark rested. It was a branch of the abovementioned Taurus: and was distinguished by several appellations, each of which was significant, and afforded some evidence to the history of the deluge. It was called Ararat, Baris, [2] Barit, Luban, which last signified Mons Lunaris, or the Mountain of Selene. It

[1] Strabo. l. 11. p. 792. 798.

[2] See vol. iii. of this work, p. 318.

had also the name of Har-Min, and Har-Men, which was precisely of the same signification. The people who lived round it were called Minni and Minyæ; and the region had the name of Armenia from the mountain, which was the great object of reverence in this country. The name is to be found in the prophet Jeremiah, where he is calling together various foreign powers, to make an invasion upon Babylon. [3] *Set up a standard in the land; blow the trumpet among the nations; prepare the nations against her. Call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat Minni, and Ashchenaz.* By Ararat-Minni is signified the region about Mount Ararat, which was possessed by the Minyæ. The passage is by the Chaldee Paraphrast very justly rendered ארמיני, Armini, the same as Armenia. From hence the learned Bochart infers with good reason, that the name of Armenia was taken from this Ararat of the Minni, called Ar-Mini. [4] Videtur Armeniæ vox conflata esse ex הר-מני, Har Mini, id est Mons Mini, sive Montana Miniadis. Something similar is to be found in Amos: where the same mountain is mentioned under the name of הר-מנה, [5] Har-

[3] Jeremiah. c. 51. v. 27. Suscitate super eam gentes; annunciate adversus illam regibus Ararath Menni. Vulgate.

[4] Geog. Sacra. l. 1. c. 3. p. 20.

[5] C. 4. v. 3.

Munah, or Mountain of the Moon. [6] Jerome takes notice of this passage, and mentions how differently it has been rendered by expositors; a circumstance which must happen when writers are of different countries and of different times. Hieronymus et projiciemini inquit in locis Armeniæ, quæ vocantur Armona. Denique Symmachus ita interpretatus est, et projiciemini in Armeniâ: pro quibus LXX montem Remman, Aquila montem Armona, Theodotio montem Mona. [7] Bochart, who quotes this passage, at the close asks, What if Mini, Minyas, and Monah, should after all prove to be the same name, only differently expressed? We may safely answer, that they are; and that they relate to the same history. Even the Remman of the LXX is a transposition of the true name; and a mistake for [8] Ar-Man, the same as Ar-Mini in the Chaldaic Paraphrase, as Ar-Mona of Aquila, Ar-Muna of Amos, and the Mountain Mona of Theodotion. They all signify Mons Lunus, and relate to the

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[6] Hieron. et Theodoretus. See Bochart. Geog. Sacra. l. 1. c. 3. p. 20.

[7] Bochart supra. p. 20. Θεοδωρητος, απορριφησεσθε εις το ορος το Αρμανα, &c. Ὁ δε Συμμαχος το Αρμανα Αρμενιαν ἑρμηνευσεν· Ὁ δε Θεοδοτιων ὑψηλον ορος. Ibid.

[8] This is manifest from the Vulgate, in which it is rendered Et projiciemini in Ar-mon.

Arkite emblem Selene, of which I have before treated.

The most common name given to the mountain was Ararat; and by this it has been distinguished by Moses. This is a compound of Ar-Arat, and signifies the Mountain of Descent, and is equivalent to הר-ירד, of the Hebrews. That the name was a compound of Ar-Arat, is plain from Hatho the Armenian, who mentions it out of composition by the name of Arath. [9] In Armeniâ est altior mons, quam sit in toto orbe terrarum, qui Arath vulgariter nuncupatur; et in cacumine illius montis arca Noæ post diluvium primo stetit. Josephus tells us expressly, that it was called by the natives the Mountain of Descent, which he translates αποβατηριον, on account of the Patriarch here first descending from the ark. [10] Αποβατηριον τοπον τουτον Αρμενιοι καλουσιν. The same is mentioned by [11] Eustathius Antiochenus. By Jerome it is styled the place of exit. [12] Nunc locum Armenii exitum vel egressum vocant. The sacred writer seems always to express foreign

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[9] Hatho Armenius. See Purchas. vol. 3. p. 110.

[10] Josephus. Antiq. l. 1. c. 3. p. 16.

[11] Και τον τοπον ετι και νυν εκεινον Αποβατηριον οι επιχωριοι καλουσι. Eustathius Antiochenus. See Bochart above. p. 20.

[12] Hieron. in Eusebianis,

names of places, as they were exhibited by the natives. He accordingly calls this mountain in the provincial dialect [13] Ar-Arat; which would have been rendered Har-Irad by the Hebrews. By this is signified αποβατηριον, or place of descent. The region round about was called Araratia, and also Minyas, where the Minyæ resided, of whom I have taken notice before. This probably, after the general migration, was one of the oldest colonies in the world. Nay, it is not impossible, but that the region may have been originally occupied by a people styled Minyæ, who out of a false zeal adhered to the spot, and would never depart from it. From the similitude which the natives of these parts bore to the Syrians and Arabians, in religion, customs, and language, it appears plainly, that they were one of the [14] Cuthite branches.

We may be assured, that the ark was providentially wafted into Armenia; as that region seems to have been particularly well calculated

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[13] Pro ארמת Mosis reperitur in Codice Samaritano הררת, Hararat. Le Clerc. vol. 1. p. 72.

[14] Το γαρ των Αρμενιων εθνος, και τ᾽ των Συρων και των Αραβων πολλην ὁμοφυλιαν εμφαινει κλ. Strabo. l. 1. p. 70. One of the principal cities in this part of Armenia was Cu-Cousus, which signifies the place of Chus. See Hierocles Συνεκδημος. p. 703. Κουκουσος, Κομανα, Αραραθια.

for the reception of the Patriarch's family, and for the repeopling of the world. The soil of the country was very fruitful, and especially of that part where the Patriarch first made his descent. Some have objected to the Mosaic account of the dove and olive, and will not allow that the ark could have rested in Armenia, because travellers of late have discovered no olives in that [15] country: they therefore infer, that there never were any trees of this sort in that region. In like manner, there may be in these days no balsam at Jericho, nor date trees in Babylonia: but it does not follow, that there were none of old. We must not therefore set aside antient histories faithfully transmitted, because the same occurrences do not happen at this day. But the inference is not only trifling, but false. Strabo was a native of Asia Minor; and he speaks of the fertility of Armenia, and especially of the region Gogarene, which he particularly mentions as productive of the olive. [16] Ειθ' ἡ Γωγαρηνη· Πασα γαρ ἡ χωρα αὐτη καρπὸις τε και τοις ἡμεροις δενδροις, και τοις ἀειθαλεσι πληθυει· φερει δε και Ελαιαν. He had been speaking of various parts of Armenia, and then adds, *After these succeeds Gogarene. All*

[15] Tournefort. letter 7th.

[16] L. 11. p. 800.

this country abounds with fruits and trees for the use of man, and with those also which are evergreen. It likewise produces the OLIVE. I have mentioned that Arene was one name of the ark; and many places were so denominated in memorial of it. It is to be observed, that there is scarcely any eastern name which begins with a vowel, or common aspirate, but is at times to be found expressed with a guttural. The city Ur was called Cur, Cour, and Chora: Aza was rendered Gaza: Ham, Cham; Hanes, Chanes: Hala, Habor, and Haran; Chala, Chabor, and Charan. So Arene, an ark or ship, was expressed [17] Carene: from whence came the Carina of the Romans. The term Go-Carene (Γω-Γαρηνη) signifies literally the place or region of the ark. I do not, however, imagine, that this was precisely the spot where the [18] descent was first made, though the name was given in memorial of that event; a circumstance common to many other places. I make no doubt but that the region of the Minyæ, at the foot of Mount Arad, or Ar-

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[17] Many places are to be found in Media, Susiana, and Armenia, named Carene and Carina. See Cluver. Geog.

[18] Gogarene was beyond the Cyrus, and a northern province, See Strabo, Stephanus, and others. It was at too great distance from Ararat, which was upon the river Araxes.

Arat, was the district where the Patriarch and his family first resided. It was upon the river [19] Araxes, and one of the mediterranean provinces of Armenia. It was called [20] Ararat and Araratia, from the mountain, and seems to have been a fine [21] country, productive of every thing necessary for life. The whole of Armenia appears to have been [22] fruitful; and we have the attestation of Strabo, that it produced the olive. It seems, for the most part, to have been of a very high situation. One province was styled, on this account, Armenia Alta. It bordered upon Araratia westward; and the account given of it by Moses Chorenensis is remarkable. [23] Armenia Alta inter omnes regiones revera altissima est; quippe quæ ad quatuor cœli partes fluvios emittit. Habet præterea montes tres, feras plurimas, aves utiles,

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[19] The Araxes is properly the river of Arach, or Aracha, which signifies the river of the ark.

[20] Isaiah. c. 37. v. 38. and 2 Kings. c. 19. v. 37. Ararat, regio Armeniæ. Hieron. in Isaiam. Araratia, in medio regionum (Armeniæ) loco. Moses Chorenensis, Geog. p. 361.

[21] Habet Araratia montes camposque, atque omnem fœcunditatem. Idem. p. 361.

[22] Habet Armenia rerum ubertatem. Id. p. 358. Strabo says of Armenia, πολλοι αυλωνες, οι μεν μεσως, οι δε σφοδρα, ευδαιμονες, καθαπερ το Αραξηνον πεδιον. l. 11. p. 800.

[23] Geog. p. 358.

thermas, salinas, atque aliarum rerum ubertatem, et urbem *Carinam*. *Armenia Alta is one of the highest regions in the world; for it sends out rivers in contrary directions towards the four cardinal points in the heavens. It has three mountains, and abounds with wild animals, and species of fowl for food, also with hot baths, and mines of salt, and with other things of utility; and the chief city is called*[24] *Carina.* The region styled Araratia was also very high, though it had fine plains and valleys between the mountains. A country of this nature and situation must, after the flood, have been soonest dried, and consequently the soonest habitable. And it seems also, in an eminent degree, to have contained every requisite for habitation. The mountain still has the name of Ararat, which it has retained through all ages; and the province beneath is at this day peculiarly styled [25] Ar-Meni. This name seems by the natives to have been originally limited to the [26] region of

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[24] Some of the principal cities in Armenia were Carina, Arca, Comana, Ararathia, Cucousus. See Hierocles Συνεκδημος. p. 703. These names are very remarkable.

[25] Ermenia of D'Anville. See his curious map of Armenia, entitled, Carte generale de la Georgie et de l'Armenie, desinée a Petersbourg, en 1738, d'apres les Cartes, Memoires, et Observations des Gens du Pays, &c. publiée en 1766.

[26] It was the same as Ararat, which was extended in the same

the ark; but writers in aftertimes have spoken of it with a greater latitude, and extended it to a large country. It was of great repute, and its chief city very ample, before it was ruined by the Tartars. The learned Roger Bacon mentions, that it once had eighty churches: [27] Fuerunt in eâ civitate octoginta ecclesiæ Hermenorum.

The mountain was also called [28] Masis, and likewise Thamanim and Shamanim, the purport of which is remarkable. I have before taken notice of the sacred Ogdoas in Egypt, which was held in great veneration. It consisted of eight [29] personages described in a boat, who were esteemed the most antient gods of the country. This number was held sacred, and esteemed mysterious by other nations. It is observable, that the Chinese have somewhat more than two hundred principal elementary characters; and out of these all other representations are formed, by which, in writing, they express their ideas. By these combinations, the characteristic is, in some

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manner. But Jerome says, Ararat non est tota Armenia. l. 11. in Esaiam.

[27] Rogeri Baconi Pars major de Aquilonaribus Mundi partibus. See Purchas. vol. 3. p. 55.

[28] See Cartwright's Travels. p. 30. and William de Rubruquis, c. 48. Μασιον ορος εν Αρμενια. Strabo. l. 11. p. 772.

[29] See vol. iii. of this work, p. 63.

degree, made a definition of the thing represented, and it has often a relation to the original history. Some of these have a reference to this mystical number eight, of which I shall give two instances of a very curious nature. They are taken from the letter of that learned Jesuit at [30] Pekin, who wrote in answer to some queries sent by the Royal Society at London. Le caractere de barque, vaisseau, est composé de la figure de vaisseau, de celle de bouche, et du chiffre *huit:* ce qui peut faire allusion au nombre des personnes, qui étoient dans l'arche.—On trouve encore les deux caracteres *huit*, et bouche avec celui d'eau pour exprimer *navigation heureuse.* Si c'est un hazard, il s'accorde bien avec le fait. The same reference to the number eight is to be observed in the history of Mount Masis, or Ararat. It was called the Mountain Thamanim, or Tshamanim; and there was a town towards the foot of the mountain of the same name, which was supposed to have been built by Noah. Now Thaman is said, in the antient language of the country, to have signified eight, and was analagous to the שמנ, Shaman, of the [31] Hebrews, which denotes the same num-

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[30] Lettre de Pekin sur le Genie de la Langue Chinoise, &c. A Bruxelles, 1773. p. 32.

[31] See Bochart. Geog. Sacra. l. 1. p. 18.

ber. Ebn [32] Patricius mentions the Ark resting upon Ararat, and calls the district below the region of the Thamanim. He also mentions the city of the same name; and he says, that it was so called from the eight persons who came out of the Ark. Other writers express it Thamanim, which is a plural from Thaman. Terra Thamanim signifies the region of the eight persons, whose history needs no explanation. It is so rendered by Elmacini, who speaks of the town, and styles it [33] pagum, quem extruxit Noa, postquam ex Arcâ egressus est: *the place which Noah built, after that he came out of the ark.* William de Rubruquis, who travelled into Tartary in the year 1253, and returned by Armenia, has a remarkable passage to this purpose. [34] *Near the*

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[32] Vol. 1. p. 40. Vocatur autem hodie terra Thamenin. In another place he adds, Cumque egressi essent, urbem extruxerunt, quam Thamanin appellârunt, juxta numerum suum, quasi dicas, *Nos Octo sumus.* p. 43.

[33] L. 1. c. 1. p. 14. Thamininum vel Thsamininum pagum. Περι τα Καρδυχια εις κωμην Θαμινων. Agathias. l. 4.

[34] See Purchas. vol. 3. p. 50. but especially the original. Araxi et Naxuanæ duos imminere montes Massis nomine; in quibus Arca resedit: et Cemainum oppidum ab octo illis ibi conditum, qui ab Arcâ exiverunt: idque patere ex ipso nomine, quo octo significatur. Rubruquis. The town of Naxuan is mentioned by Ptolemy. l. 5. c. 13. and placed upon the Araxes. In the

city Naxuan there are mountains called Masis, upon which they say that the Ark of Moses rested. There are two of these mountains, the one greater than the other, and the Araxes runneth at the foot of them. There is also a little town Cemainum, which is by interpretation eight; for they say it was so called from the eight persons who came out of the Ark, and built it. This is plain from the name; for Cemainum signifies eight. They call the mountain the mother of the world. From hence we may perceive, that what this writer renders Cemainum, should rather have been expressed Shemainum, or Shemanum; for it is undoubtedly the same as the Themanim and Thamanim of Elmacini and others, and analogous to the שמן, Shaman of the Hebrews. The town of the Thamanim, or Shamanim, was so called from those eight primæval persons who were said to have founded it. There is reason to think, that it was the same as Naxuan, a very antient city, which is mentioned by Ptolemy, and placed upon the Araxes. The editor of Moses Chorenensis has some curious observations upon the history of this place. [35] *This town, which seems to be the*

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map of D'Anville, it is expressed Nactshevan; and is situated upon the river, at a small distance from Mount Ararat.

[35] L. 1. c. 29. p. 71.

Naxuana of Ptolemy, is close upon the plain of Araratia; and held in great regard by the Armenians, who give out, that it is the most antient place in the world, and built immediately after the Deluge by Noah. Galanus, a Roman Presbyter, who wrote an account of the Armenian Church being reconciled to the Church of Rome, tells us, that, according to the natives, the true name is Nachidshevan. By this, they say, is signified [36] THE FIRST PLACE OF DESCENT. *Hence there can be no doubt, but this is that place in Armenia, of which Josephus takes notice, and says, that by the natives it was called* αποβατηριον, *or the place of* [37] *descent.* In the map of D'Anville it is expressed [38] Nactsbevan; and placed at the distance of a few miles to the east of Mount Ararat, in the true region of Har-Men, or Armenia, which retains its name to this day.

I have mentioned, that the same names have been given to different places where the Arkite rites were instituted, under the titles of Baris, Meen, and Selene. Hence the same event was supposed to have happened in different places,

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[36] I believe that the name related to the history of the Patriarch; but whether the etymology is precisely true, I question.

[37] Josephus. Ant. l. 1. c. 3. p. 16.

[38] They have a tradition that Noah died here. See Tavernier. l. 1. c. 4. p. 16.

and the like history has been recorded. Mount Taurus extended a great way eastward of Armenia; and one part of it, in the province of Adarbayn, in Persia, is still called Al Baris, similar to the name by which Ararat was of old distinguished. [39] Sir Thomas Herbert travelled this way in 1626; and he mentions one peak near the city Tauris remarkably high, which he with great reason imagines to have been one of those where stood the Iäsonea, mentioned by Strabo. This hill was called [40] Da Moan; and the town at the foot of it had the same name. By this, according to the natives, is signified *a second plantation.* But Mon and Moan was the name of the Arkite type, as I have abundantly shewn: and Da was the antient [41] Chaldaic particle analagous to *the* in our language. Da Maon related to the Arkite Moon: and the history of the place still evidences the fact; for they have an antient tradition, that the Ark was driven to this mountain.

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[39] He calls the ridge of Taurus El Bors, p. 197. This is a variation of El Baris. Taurus is expressed by the natives Tabaris; from whence we may infer, that the former term is only a contraction of the latter; and that from Tabaris and Tavaris came the names of Tauris and Taurus, both the city and mountain. Har Ta-Baris is the mountain of the Ark.

[40] P. 201.

[41] See of this work vol. iii. p. 318.

[42] *They spare not to aver, says the author, from a tradition, that upon this mountain of Damoan the Ark rested.* Hard by is a village named Morante, where they suppose the wife of [43] Noah to have died. I mention these accounts, however inaccurately transmitted, to shew how universal the history was of that great event, of which I have been treating. The scene of action was attributed to different places; but the real appulse of the ark was upon the mountain of Arat, called Ar-arat, in the province of Har-Men, upon the river Arach, or Araxes.

After the sacred writer has described the preservation of Noah and his family, and their descent from the Ark, he gives a short history of the Patriarch, and mentions his residence upon the spot, and his planting of the [44] vine. He afterwards proceeds to shew how the reparation of mankind was effected in that family, and how they multiplied upon the earth. When they were greatly increased, he gives a list of their generations, and describes them with great accuracy upon their separating, according to their places of destination: and concludes with telling us,

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[42] Herbert's Travels. p. 201. The mountain Da Moan signifies Mons Lunus, or Lunaris.

[43] Tavernier. l. 1. c. 4. p 20.

[44] Genesis. c. 9. v. 20, 21.

[45] *By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.* And again, [46] *These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations; and by these were the nations divided in the earth, after the flood.* I have spoken upon this subject in a former [47] treatise; and have shewn that this distribution was by the immediate appointment of God. We have full evidence of this in that sublime and pathetic hymn of Moses, where he addresses himself to the people whom he had so long conducted, and was now going to leave for ever. [48] *Remember,* says he, *the days of old; consider the years of many generations. Ask thy father, and he will shew thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee. When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance; when he separated the sons of Adam; he set the bounds of the people, according to the number of the children of Israel: for the Lord's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.* By this we may see, that the whole was by God's appointment; and that there was a re-

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[45] Genesis. c. 10. v. 5.

[46] Ibid. c. 10. v. 32.

[47] Observations and Inquiries relating to various parts of Antient History, vol. vi. p. 285.

[48] Deuteron. c. 32. v. 7.

serve for a people who were to come after. St. Paul likewise speaks of it expressly as a divine ordinance. [49] Εποιησε τε (ὁ Θεος) εξ ἑνος αἱματος παν εθνος ανθρωπων κατοικειν επι παν το προσωπον της γης, ὁρισας προτεταγμενας καιρους, και τας ὁροθεσιας της κατοικιας αυτων. *God made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth; and determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation.* This is taken notice of by many of the fathers. Eusebius in particular mentions [50] *the distribution of the earth:* and adds, *that it happened in the two thousand six hundred and seventy-second year of the creation, and in the nine hundred and thirtieth year of the Patriarch's life. Then it was that Noah, by divine appointment, divided the world between his three sons.* The like is to be found in [51] Syncellus, [52] Epiphanius, and other writers. The Grecians had some traditions of this partition of the earth, which they supposed to have been by lot, and between Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto.

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[49] Acts. c. 17. v. 26.

[50] Μερισμος της γης. Τῳ Βφοϛ ετει τῳ κοσμῳ ενακοσιοστῳ τριακοστοστῳ ετει τῳ Νωε, κατα θειον δηλονοτι χρησμον εμερισε Νωε τοις τρισιν υἱοις αυτου την γην. Euseb. Chron. p. 10.

[51] Syncellus. p. 89.

[52] Epiphanius. l. 2. t. 2. p. 703.

[53] Φαντο ψαλον Κρονιδησι δια τριχα δωματα νειμαι.

The sons of Cronus ascertain'd by lot
Their several realms on earth.

Homer introduces Neptune speaking to the same purpose.

[54] Τρεις γαρ τ' εκ Κρονυ εσμεν αδελφεοι, ὁυς τεκε Ρεια—
Τριχθα δε παντα δεδασται, εκασος δ' εμμορε τιμης.

We are from Cronus and from Rhea sprung,
Three brothers; who the world have parted out
Into three lots; and each enjoys his share.

The tradition probably came to Greece from Egypt; and we have it more fully related in Plato. [55] Θεοι γαρ ἁπασαν γην ποτε κατα τους τοπους διελαγχανον, ου κατ' εριν—δικης δε κληροις τα φιλων λαγχανοντες κατωκιζον τας χωρας. *The gods of old obtained the dominion of the whole earth, according to their different allotments. This was effected*

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[53] Callim. Hymn. in Jovem. v. 61.
[54] Iliad. O. v. 187.
[55] In Critiâ. vol: 3. p. 109.

without any contention; for they took possession of their several provinces in an amicable and fair way by lot.

It is said of Noah, from whom all the families upon earth were derived, [56] *that he was a just man, and perfect in his generation:* and that he *walked with God.* We may suppose, that his sons shewed him always great reverence: and after they were separated, and when he was no more, that they still behaved in conformity to the rules which he established. But there was one family which seems to have acted a contrary part; and however they may have reverenced his memory, they paid little regard to his institutions. It is said, that [57] *Cush begat Nimrod. He began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Ashur, and builded Nineve, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineve and Calah, the same is a great city.* We have, in this narration, an account of the first rebellion in the world; and

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[56] Genesis. c. 6. v. 9.

[57] Ibid. c. 10. v. 8.

the grounds of this apostasy seem to have been these. At the distribution of families, and the allotment of the different regions upon earth, the house of Shem stood first, and was particularly regarded. The children of Shem were Elam and Ashur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. Their places of destination seem to have been not far removed from the region of descent, which was the place of separation. They in general had Asia to their lot, as Japhet had Europe, and Ham the large continent of Africa. And in Asia, the portion of Elam was to the east of the river Tigris, towards the mouth of it, which country, by the Gentile writers, was styled Elymaïs: and opposite to him, on the western side, was Ashur. In like manner, above Ashur, upon the same river, was Aram, who possessed the countries called Aram and Aramea: and opposite to him was Arphaxad, who in aftertimes was called [58] Arbactus and Arbaces, and his country Arphacitis. Lud probably retired to Lydia, and bordered upon the sons of Japhet, who were possessed of some regions in Asia Minor. This was the original disposition of these families; but the sons of Chus would not submit to the divine dispensation; and [59] Nimrod, who first took upon

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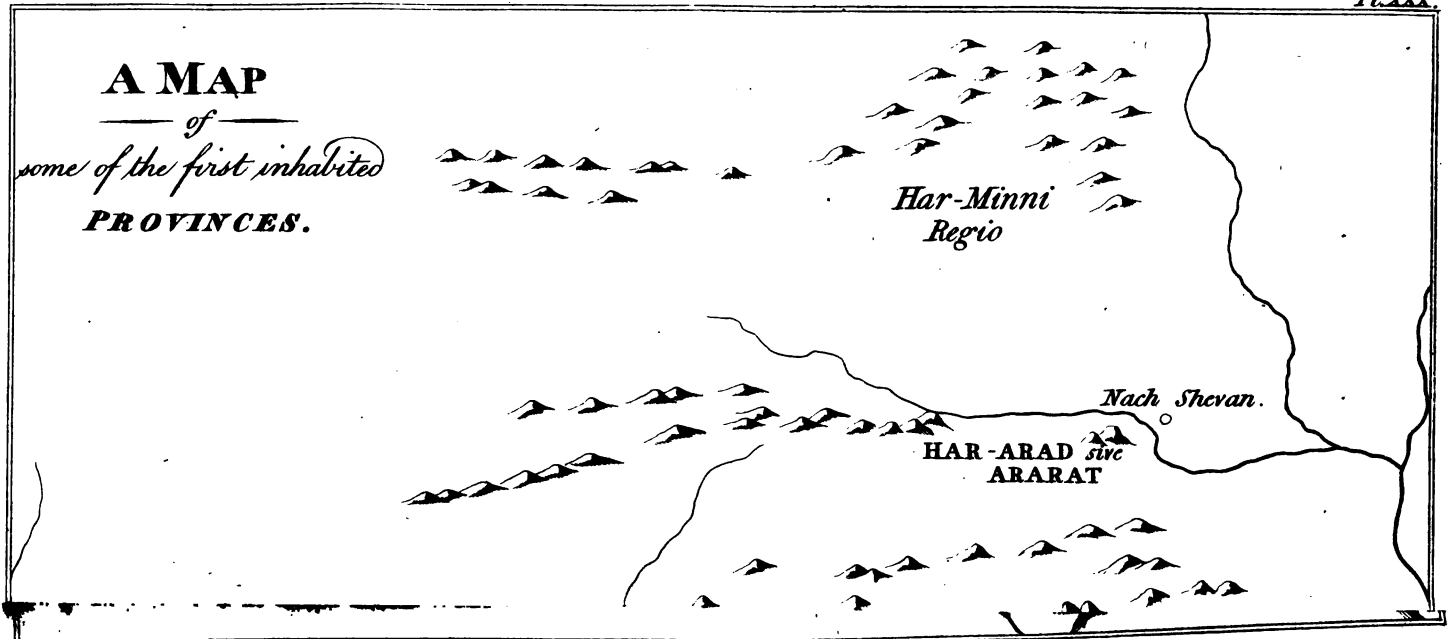
[58] Justin. l. 1. c. 3. Ptolemy expresses the country Arrapachitis. l. 6. c. 1. The chief city was Artaxata.

[59] Νιϐρωδ, ὁ κυνηγος και γιγας, ὁ Αιθιοψ —— τυτῳ τῳ Νιϐρωδ την

A MAP
of
some of the first inhabited
PROVINCES.



himself regal state, drove Ashur from his demesnes, and forced him to take shelter in the higher parts of Mesopotamia. This was part of the country called Aram, and was probably ceded to him by his brother. Here the Ashurites built for their defence a chain of cities, equal in strength and renown to those which had been founded by Nimrod. We have, in this detail, an account of the first monarchy upon earth, and of the tyranny and usurpations which in consequence of it ensued.

The sacred historian, after this, mentions another act of a rebellious purpose, which consisted in building a lofty tower with a very evil intent. Most writers have described this and the former event as antecedent to the migration of mankind, which they suppose to have been from the plains of Shinar: but it will be my endeavour to shew, that the general migration was not only prior, but from another part of the world. The

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βασιλειαν Βαβυλωνος μετα τον κατακλυσμον ἡ θεια γραφη ανατιθησι. Chron. Paschale. p. 28. Nimrod was styled Orion, and Alorus by the Gentile writers; and is acknowledged to have been the first king upon earth, and to have reigned at Babylon. Ταυτα μεν ὁ Βηρωσος ἱστορησι πρωτον γενεσθαι Βασιλεα Αλωρον εκ Βαβυλωνος Χαλδαιων. Euseb. Chron. p. 5. Syncellus says the same, p. 37. 79. We meet with the same history in another place of the Chron. Paschale. p. 36. also Johan. Antiochen. l. 2. p. 18.

words of the historian are these: [o] *And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar. And they said, Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one; and they have all one language; and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand each other's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth; and they left off to build the city: therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth; and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.* It had been in the preceding chapter men-

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[o] Genesis. c. 11. v. 1.

tioned, where the family of Shem was enumerated, that *unto* [61] *Heber were born two sons; the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided.* I think that we may, from the preceding portions of Scripture, observe two different occurrences, which are generally blended together. First, that there was a formal migration of families to the several regions appointed for them, according to the determination of the Almighty: Secondly, that there was a dissipation of others, who stood their ground, and would not acquiesce in the divine dispensation. These seem to have been two distinct events, and to have happened in different places, as well as at different times. In the beginning of the latter history, mention is made of people's journeying, and proceeding towards a place of settlement. It is generally thought, that the whole of mankind is included in this description; and it is inferred from the words of Moses. *And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there.* But I am not certain that these words afford any proof to this opinion: for, in respect to what is here said, I do not see, but

[61] Genesis. c. 10. v. 25. Peleg signified division.

that a migration of families might have happened antecedently to this journeying from the east. The passage, when truly translated, does not by any means refer to the whole of mankind. According to the original, it is said indeterminately, *that in the journeying of people from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar.* The purport, therefore, of the whole passage amounts only to this, that, before there was any alteration in the language of mankind, a body of people came from the east to the place above specified. This is all that is said: so that I am far from being satisfied that the whole of mankind was engaged in this expedition from the east. The Scripture does not seem to say so: nor can there be any reason assigned why they should travel so far merely to be dissipated afterwards. We have reason to think, that soon after the descent from the Ark, the Patriarch found himself in a fine and fruitful country; for so it is described by [62] Strabo and others; and there is nothing that we can suppose to have been done at Shinar, but might have been effected in the

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[62] L. 11. p. 800. Ararat, regio in Armeniâ campestris est; per quam Araxes fluit; incredibilis ubertatis. Hieron. in Esaiam. c. 37. See Tavernier's Travels, p. 14, 15. and Tournefort. letter 7th.

spot where he first resided; I mean in respect to migration. The region about Ararat may be esteemed as nearly a central part of the earth; and it is certainly as well calculated as any other for the removal of colonies upon the increase of mankind. The Ethnic writers, in their accounts of the wanderings of Isis and Jonah, seem to allude to the journeying of mankind; and they speak of the country about Caucasus as the place from whence those travels began. The same is to be observed in the original history of the Minyæ, which is called the retreat of the Argonautæ: for they retire from the region about Caucasus to the remotest parts of the earth: and it is well known, that Ararat in Armenia is a part of that vast chain of mountains called Caucasus and Taurus. Upon these mountains, and in the adjacent country, were preserved more authentic accounts of the Ark, than almost in any other part of the world. Moses Chorenensis takes notice of the many memorials relating to antient times, which were preserved by the people of Armenia. They were commemorated in their poems, songs, and sacred hymns. [63] Cæterum veteres Armenii in carminibus suis, cantilenis ad cymbala, ac tripudiis, longè copiosiorem de his rebus

[63] L. 1. c. 5. p. 19.

mentionem agitant. *The antient Armenians in their poems and hymns, which are accompanied with cymbals and dances, afford a far more copious account of these events than any other nation.* The place where mankind first resided, was undoubtedly the region of the Minyæ, at the bottom of Mount Baris, or Luban, which was the Ararat of Moses. Here I imagine, that the Patriarch resided; and [64] Berosus mentions, that in this place he gave instructions to his children, and vanished from the sight of men. But the sacred writings are upon this head silent: they only mention his planting the vine, and seemingly taking up his abode for a long time upon the spot. Indeed, they do not afford us any reason to infer that he ever departed from it. The very plantation of the vine seems to imply a purpose of residence. Not a word is said of the Patriarch's ever quitting the place; nor of any of his sons departing from it, till the general migration. Many of the fathers were of opinion, that they did not for some ages quit this region. According to Epiphanius, they remained in the vicinity of Ararat for five generations, during the space of six hundred and fifty-nine years. [65] Μετα δε τον

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[64] Apud Euseb. Chron. p. 8.

[65] Hæres. l. 1. p. 5.

κατακλυσμον, επιςασης της λαρνακος τȣ Νωε εν τοις ορεσι τοις Αραρατ, ανα μεσον Αρμενιων και Καρδυεων, εν τῳ Λȣβαρ ορει καλȣμενῳ, εκεισε πρωτον οικησις γινεται μετα τον κατακλυσμον των ανθρωπων· κἀκει φυτευει αμπελωνα Νωε ὁ προφητης, οικιςης τε γινεται τȣ τοπȣ. Γινονται δε τοις αυτȣ παισι—παιδες, και παιδων παιδες, ἑως πεμπτης γενεας, ετων ἑξακοσιων πεντηκοντα εννεα. *After the Ark upon the decrease of the waters had rested upon the mountains of Ararat, upon that particular eminence called Lubar, which bounds the countries of the Armenians and the Cardueans; the region where it settled became the first place occupied by mankind. Here the Patriarch Noah took up his residence, and planted the vine. In this place he saw a large progeny descend from him, children after children—to the* [66] *fifth generation, for the space of six hundred and fifty-nine years.*

During the residence of mankind in these parts, we may imagine, that there was a season of great happiness. They for a long time lived under the mild rule of the great Patriarch, before laws were enacted or penalties known. When they multiplied, and were become very numerous,

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[66] The same is mentioned by this writer in another place. Πεμπτη γενεα μετα τον κατακλυσμον, πληθυνοντων αρτι των ανθρωπων—απο τȣ Λȣβαρ της Αρμενιας, τȣτ' εςιν Αραρατ της χωρας, γινονται εν πεδιῳ Σενααρ. l. 1. p. 6,

it pleased God to allot to the various families different regions, to which they were to retire: and they accordingly, in the days of Peleg, did remove, and betake themselves to their different departments. But the sons of Chus would not obey. They went off under the conduct of the arch-rebel Nimrod; and seem to have been for a long time in a roving state; but at last they arrived at the plains of Shinar. These they found occupied by Assur and his sons: for he had been placed there by divine appointment. But they ejected him, and seized upon his dominions; which they immediately fortified with cities, and laid the foundation of a great monarchy. Their leader is often mentioned by the Gentile writers, who call him Belus. He was a person of great impiety; who finding that the earth had been divided among the sons of men by a divine decree, thought proper to counteract the ordinance of God, and to make a different distribution. This is often alluded to in the Ethnic writings; and Abydenus particularly mentions, that [67] Belus appointed to the people their place of habitation. Dionysius refers to this Belus and his associates, when he is speaking of the deities, who were the ance tors of the Indo-Cuthites.

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[67] Χωραν ἑκαστῳ ἀποιμαντα. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 457.

[68] εκληρωσαντο δ' εκαστῳ
Μοιραν εχειν ποντοιο, και ηπειροιο βαθειης.

They first alloted to each roving tribe
Their share of sea, and land.

This is the beginning of that period, which, upon account of the rebellion then first known, was by the Greek writers alluded to under the title of Σκυθισμος, Scuthismus. This ejectment of Assur seems to shew, that these transactions were after the general migration; for he was in possession of the province allotted to him, till he was ejected by this lawless people.

In the beginning of this history it is said, that they journeyed from the east, when they came to the land of Shinar. This was the latter part of their rout: and the reason of their coming in this direction may, I think, be plainly shewn. The Ark, according to the best accounts, both sacred and profane, rested upon a mountain of Armenia, called Minyas, Baris, Lubar, and Ararat. Many families of the emigrants went probably directly east or west, in consequence of the situation to which they were appointed. But those who were

[68] V. 1173.

destined to the southern parts of the great continents, which they were to inhabit, could not so easily and uniformly proceed; there being but few outlets to their place of destination. For the high Tauric ridge and the [69] Gordyean mountains came between, and intercepted their due course. How difficult these mountains were, even in later times, to be passed, may be known from the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, who had served under Cyrus the younger. They came from these very plains of Shinar; and passing to the east of the Tigris, they arrived at these mountains, which with great peril they got over. But in the times of which we are treating, they must have been still more difficult to be [70] surmounted: for after the deluge, the hollows and valleys between these hills, and all other mountainous places, must have been full of slime and mud; and for a great while have abounded with stagnant waters. We know from ancient history, that it was a long time before passages were opened, and roads made through places of this nature. I should therefore

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[69] Strabo. l. 11. p. 798.

[70] In later times there were only two passages southward. Armenia orientales Ciliciæ fines attingit, atque ad Taurum montem patet—atque ex eâ duo aditus in Syriam patent. Moses Chorenens. Geog. p. 354.

think, that mankind must necessarily for some ages have remained near the place of descent, from which they did not depart till the time of the general migration. Armenia is in great measure bounded either by the Pontic sea, or by mountains; and it seems to have been the purpose of Providence to confine the sons of men to this particular region, to prevent their roving too soon. Otherwise they might have gone off in small parties, before the great families were constituted, among whom the world was to be divided. The economy and distribution assigned by Providence, would by these means have been defeated. It was upon this account, that, at the migration, many families were obliged to travel more or less eastward, who wanted to come down to the remoter parts of Asia. And in respect to the Cuthites, who seem to have been a good while in a roving state, they might possibly travel to the Pylæ Caspiæ, before they found an outlet to descend to the country specified. In consequence of this, the latter part of their rout must have been in the direction mentioned in the Scriptures, which is very properly styled, a journeying from the east. I was surprized, after I had formed this opinion from the natural history of the country, to find it verified by that antient historian Berosus. He mentions the rout of his countrymen from Ararat after the deluge; and says, that it

was not in a strait line: but the people had been instructed [71] περιξ πορευθηναι εις Βαβυλωνιαν, *to take a circuit, and so to descend to the regions of Babylonia.* In this manner the sons of Chus came to the plains of Shinar, of which Babylonia was a part; and from hence they ejected Assur: and afterwards trespassed upon Elam in the region beyond the Tigris.

It may still be urged, that all mankind must certainly have been at Babel: *for the whole earth* and its language are [72] mentioned; and it is said, that God *confounded there the language of all the earth.* But this, I think, can never be the meaning of the sacred writer: and it may be proved from the premises, upon which those in opposition proceed. The confusion of speech is by all uniformly limited to the region about Babel. If we were to allow, that all mankind were included in this spot, how can we imagine, that the sacred historian would call this the whole earth? If mankind were in possession of the greater part of the globe, this figurative way of speaking would be natural and allowable. But if they are supposed to be confined to one narrow interamnian district; it is surely premature: for we cannot

[71] Euseb. Chron. p. 8. Περιξ, κυκλω, Hesych.

[72] C. 11. v. 1.

suppose that the language of the whole earth would be mentioned before the earth was in great measure occupied; which they do not allow. And if what I assert be granted, that the earth was in some degree peopled, yet the confusion is limited to Babel; so that what is mentioned in the above passage can never relate to the whole earth.

There are two terms, which are each taken in different acceptations; and upon these the truth of this history depends. In the first verse of this chapter it is said, that, Col Aretz, *the whole earth* was of one language (or rather lip), and way of speaking. The word Col signifies *the whole*, and also *every*. By Aretz is often meant the *earth*: it also signifies *a land* or *province*; and occurs continually in this latter acceptation. We find in this very chapter, that the region of Shinar is called Aretz Shinar; and the land of Canaan [73] Aretz Canaan. The like may be seen in the preceding chapter, and in various parts of Scripture. I shall therefore adopt it in this sense; and lay before the reader a version of the whole pas-

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[73] V. 32. So Aretz Havilah, the land of Havilah, Genesis. c. 2. v. 11. ארץ כוש, Aretz Cush, v. 12. the land of Cush. The Psalmist makes use of both the terms precisely in the sense which I attribute to them here. *Their sound is gone out into every land:* Col Aretz, in omnem terram. Ps. 19. v. 4.

sage concerning Babel; rendering the terms above as I have observed them at times exhibited by some of the best judges of the original.

1. *And every region was of one lip and* [74] *mode of speech.*

2. *And it came to pass, in the journeying of people from the east, that they found a plain in the* (Aretz) *land of Shinar, and they dwelt there.*

3. *And one man said to another; Go to; let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly: and they had brick for stone; and slime had they for mortar.*

4. *And they said; Go to; let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven: and let us make us a mark or signal, that we may not be scattered abroad upon the surface of every region.*

5. *And the Lord came down to see the city, and the tower, which the children of men were building.*

6. *And the Lord said; Behold, the people is one* (united in one body): *and they have all one lip or pronunciation: and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.*

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[74] Et *omnis terra* labium unum, et verba una. Versio Ariæ Montani. και φωνη μια πασι. Sept.

7. *Go to; let us go down, and there confound their lip, that they may not understand one another's lip, or pronunciation.*

8. *So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence over the face of every region; and they left off to build the city.*

9. *Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the lip of the whole land; and from thence did the Lord scatter them over the face of every region, or of the whole earth.*

This I take to be the true purport of the history: from whence we may infer, that the confusion of language was a partial event: and that the whole of mankind are by no means to be included in the dispersion from Babel. It related chiefly to the sons of Chus; whose intention was to have founded a great, if not an universal, empire: but by this judgment their purpose was defeated.

That there was a migration first, and a dispersion afterwards, will appear more plainly, if we compare the different histories of these events. [75] *In the days of Peleg the earth was divided: and*

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[75] Genesis. c. 10. v. 25. 31. 32. Εξ αυτε (Φαλεγ) και την των Χαλδαιων Βασιλειαν, ης ὁ πρωτος Ευτυχιος, ὁ και Νεμβρωδ, φαμεν καταρξασθαι. Syncellus. p. 79.

the sons of Noah were distinguished in their generations, in their nations: and by these were the nations divided in the earth AFTER THE FLOOD. We see here uniformity and method; and a particular distribution. And this is said to have happened, not after the building of the tower, or confusion of speech, but *after the flood.* In the other case, there is an irregular dissipation without any rule and order. [76] *So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of every region; and they left off to build the city: and* FROM THENCE (from the city and *tower) did the Lord scatter them abroad.* This is certainly a different event from the former. In short, the migration was general; and all the families among the sons of men were concerned in it. The dispersion at Babel, and the confusion, was partial, and related only to the house of Chus and their adherents. For they had many associates, probably out of every family; apostates from the truth; who had left the stock of their fathers, and the religion of the true God, that they might enlist under the rule of the Cuthites, and follow their rites and worship. For when Babel was deserted, we find among the Cuthites of Chaldea some of the line of [77] Shem, whom we could

[76] Genesis. c. 11. v. 8. 9.

[77] Ibid. c. 11. v. 28. 31.

scarcely have expected to have met in such a society. Here were Terah, and Nahor, and even Abraham, all upon forbidden ground; and separated from the family to which they belonged. This Joshua mentions in his exhortation to the children of Israel. [78] *Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor, and they served other gods.* And we may well imagine, that many of the branches of Ham were associated in the same manner, and in confederacy with the rebels; and some perhaps of every great division into which mankind was separated. To this Berosus bears witness, who says, that in the first age Babylon was inhabited by people of different families and nations, who resided there in great numbers. [79] Εν δε τη Βαβυλωνι πολυ πληθος ανθρωπων γενεσθαι αλλοεθνων κατοικησαντων Χαλδαιαν. *In those times Babylon was full of people of different nations and families, who resided in Chaldea.* And as all these tribes are said to have been of one lip, and of the same words, that is, of the same uniform pronunciation, and the same express language, it seemed good to divine wisdom, to cause a confusion of the lip, and a change in pronun-

[78] Joshua. c. 24. v. 2.

[79] Eusebii Chron. p. 6.

ciation, that these various tribes might no longer understand each other. [30] *Go to, let us go down, and there confound their* שפה, *lip; that they may not understand one another's speech.* [31] *Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth.* Our version is certainly in this place faulty, as I have shewn: for by saphet col haretz is not here meant the language of the whole earth, but of the whole region, or province; which language was not changed, but confounded, as we find it expressly mentioned by the sacred writer. This confusion of speech is by all uniformly limited to the country about Babel.

We must, therefore, instead of the language of all the earth, substitute the language of the whole country; for such is the purport of the terms. This was confounded by causing a [32] labial failure, so that the people could not articulate. It was not an aberration in words, or language, but a failure, and incapacity in labial utterance. By this their speech was confounded, but not altered; for, as soon as they separated, they re-

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[30] Genesis. c. 11. v. 7.

[31] C. 11. v. 9.

[32] By all the Grecian interpreters it is rendered συγχυσις; which can never denote a change, but only a confusion.

covered their true tenor of pronunciation; and the language of the earth continued for some ages nearly the [83] same. This, I think, appears, from many interviews, taken notice of in Scripture, between the Hebrews and other nations; wherein they speak without an interpreter, and must therefore have nearly the same tongue. And even the languages which subsist at this day, various as they may be, yet retain sufficient relation to shew, that they were once dialects from the same matrix; and that their variety was the effect of time. If we may trust to an Ethnic writer, the evidence of Eupolemus is decisive; for he speaks of the dispersion as a partial judgment, inflicted upon those persons only who were confederate at Babel. His account is very particular, and seems to agree precisely with the purport of the Scriptures. He says, [84] *that the city*

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[83] Upon this head, the person of all others to be consulted is the very learned Monsieur Court de Gebelin, in his work, entitled, Monde Primitif Analysé et Comparé; which is now printing at Paris, and is in part finished. The last published volume is particularly to be read, as it affords very copious and satisfactory evidences to this purpose; and is replete with the most curious erudition, concerning the history and origin both of writing and language.

[84] Ευπολεμος δε εν τω περι Ιουδαιων της Ασσυριας φησι, πολιν Βαβυλωνα πρωτον μεν κτισθηναι υπο των διασωθεντων εκ του κατακλυσμου·

Babel was first founded, and afterwards the celebrated tower; both which were built by some of those people who had escaped the deluge. Ειναι δε αυτους Γιγαντας. *They were the same who in aftertimes were recorded under the character of Giants. The tower was at length by the hand of the Almighty ruined: and these Giants were scattered over the whole earth.* By this we find, that only a part of mankind was engaged in the building of the tower, and that those only were dispersed abroad; consequently the confusion of speech could not be universal, no more than the dispersion, of which it was the cause.

The people concerned in this daring undertaking encouraged each other to this work, by saying, [85] *Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven: and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.* What is in our version a name, is by many interpreted a monument, a [86] mark,

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ειναι δε αυτους Γιγαντας. Οικοδομειν δε τον ιστορημενον Πυργον. πιεσοντος δε τουτω υπο της του Θεου ενεργειας, τους Γιγαντας διασπαρηναι καθ' ὁλην την γην. Apud Euseb. Præp. l. 9. p. 418.

[85] Genesis. c. 11. v. 3.

[86] According to Schultens, the proper and primary notion of ⊐ש, is a mark, or sign, standing out, raised up, or exposed to open view. Taylor's Hebrew Concordance. n. 1693. ⊐ש, is similar to σημα, and σαμα of the Greeks.

or sign to direct; and this certainly is the sense of *it* in this passage. The great fear of the sons of Chus was, that they might be divided and scattered abroad. They therefore built this tower as a land-mark to repair to; as a token to direct them: and it was probably an idolatrous temple, or high altar, dedicated to the host of heaven, from which they were never long to be absent. It is expressly said, that they raised it to prevent their being scattered abroad. It was the original temple of Sama-Rama, whence the Babylonians were called Semarim. The apostates were one-fourth of the line of Ham, and they had an inclination to maintain themselves where they first settled, instead of occupying the countries to which they were appointed. And that the sons of Chus were the chief agents, both in erecting the tower of Babel, and in prosecuting these rebellious principles, is plain from a previous passage; for it is said of Nimrod, the son of Chus, that *the beginning of his kingdom was Babel* We cannot therefore suppose this defection general, or the judgment universal, unless all mankind co-operated with this tyrant. Or, supposing that the term of his life did not extend to the erecting of the tower, and that he only laid the foundation of the city, yet the whole was carried on by those of his family, who were confessedly rebels and

apostates. They acted in defiance of God, and were in a continual state of trespass towards man. And though some did join them, yet it is hardly credible, that all should co-operate, and so totally forget their duty. How can we imagine that Shem, if he were alive, would enter into a league with such people? or that his sons Elam, Aram, or Arphaxad would join them? The pre-eminence shewn them in the regions to which they were appointed, and the regularity observable in their destination, prove that they could not have been a part in the dispersion, and consequently not of the confederacy. Indeed, they had retired to their several departments before the erecting of the tower: and Assur, the second of the sons of Shem, so far from co-operating with this people, had been driven from his settlement by them, and forced to take shelter in another place. In short, there was a migration first, and a dispersion afterwards; which latter was effected by a fearful judgment; a confusion of speech, through a failure in labial utterance. This judgment was partial, as was the dispersion in consequence of it. It related only to the Cuthites of Shinar and Babel, and to those who had joined themselves to them. They seem to have been a very numerous body: and, in consequence of this calamity, they fled away; not to any particular place of destination: but *were scattered abroad upon the face of the*

whole earth. And the truth of this will appear from the concurrent testimony of the most approved Ethnic witers.

Such is the account transmitted by Moses of the reparation of mankind after the flood; and of their migration, according to their families, to the regions appointed for them: of the rebellion also of the Cuthites, and the construction of the tower; and of the dissipation which afterwards ensued. This is a curious and inestimable piece of history, which is authenticated in every part by the evidence of subsequent ages. As far as this history goes, we have an infallible guide to direct us in respect to the place of destination, to which each family retired. But what encroachments were afterwards made; what colonies were sent abroad; and what new kingdoms founded, are circumstances to be sought for from another quarter. And in our process to obtain this knowledge, we must have recourse to the writers of Greece. It is in vain to talk about the Arabian or Persic literature of modern daté; or about the Celts and the Scythæ; at least, according to the common acceptation, in which the last nation is understood. All knowledge of antient times has been derived to us through the hands of the Grecians. They have copied from the most early writers of the east; and we have no other resources to apply to where the Mosaic history closes. It

may perhaps be said, that these helps must be very precarious; as little trust can be reposed in writers who have blended and sophisticated whatever came to their hands: where the mixture is so general, that it is scarce possible, with the greatest attention, to distinguish truth from fable. It must be confessed, that the truth is much disguised; yet it is by no means effaced, and consequently may be still retrieved. I hope, in the course of my argument, that this has been abundantly shewn. To pass a proper judgment on the Grecian histories, we must look upon them collectively as a rich mine, wherein the ore lies deep, and is mixed with earth, and other base concretions. It is our business to sift and separate; and by refining to disengage it. This, by care and attention, is to be effected; and then what a fund of riches is to be obtained!

The last great event which I mentioned from the Mosaic account, was the dissipation of the Cuthites from Babel; from whence they were scattered over the face of the earth. This is an æra to be much observed: for at this period the sacred penman closes the general history of the world. What ensues relates to one family, and to a private dispensation. Of the nations of the earth, and their polities, nothing more occurs, excepting only as their history chances to be connected with that of the sons of Israel. We

must, therefore, have recourse to Gentile authority for a subsequent account. And, previously to this, we may from them obtain collateral evidence of the great events which had preceded, and which are mentioned by Moses. We learn from the poets, and all the more antient writers were poets, that there was a time when mankind lived a life of simplicity and virtue; that they had no laws; but were in a state of nature when pains and penalties were unknown. They were wonderfully blessed with longevity, and had a share of health and strength in proportion to their years. At last, there was a mighty falling off from this primitive simplicity, and a great change was effected in consequence of this failure. Men grew proud and unjust; jealousies prevailed, attended with a love of rule; which was followed with war and bloodshed. The chief person who began these innovations was Nimrod. The Greeks often call him Nebrod, and Nebros, and have preserved many oriental memorials concerning him and his apostasy, and concerning the tower, which he is supposed to have erected. He is described as a gigantic, daring personage; a contemner of every thing divine; and his associates are represented of a character equally enterprizing and daring. [87] Abydenus, in his Assyrian Annals,

[87] Εντι δε οι λεγουσι τους πρωτους εκ γης ανασχοντας ρωμη τε και

alludes to the insurrection of the sons of Chus, and to their great impiety. He also mentions the building of the tower, and confusion of tongues; and says, that the tower, analogous to the words of the Scripture, was carried up to heaven; but that the Gods ruined it by storms and whirlwinds, and frustrated the purpose for which it was designed; and overthrew it upon the heads of those who were employed in the work: that the ruins of it were called Babylon. Before this, there was but one language subsisting among men: but now they had, πολυθρυν φωνην, a manifold sound, or utterance. A war soon after ensued between Cronus and Titan. He repeats, that the particular spot, where the tower stood, was in his time called Babylon. [88] It was so

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μεγιθει χαυνωθεντας, και δη θεων καταφρονησαντας αμεινονας ειναι, πυργων τυρσιν ηλιβατον αειρειν, ινα νυν Βαβυλων εστιν, ηδη τε ασσον ειναι τω ουρανω· και τους ανεμους θειοισι βωθεοντας ανατρεψαι περι αυτοισι το μηχαιημα· τω δητα ερειπια λεγεσθαι Βαβυλωνα. Τους δε οντας ὁμογλωσσους εκ θεων πολυθρυν φωνην ενεικασθαι. Μετα δε Κρονω και Τιτηνι συστηναι πολεμον. Ὁ δε τοπος, εν ᾧ πυργον ᾠκοδομησαν, νυν Βαβυλων καλειται, δια την συγχυσιν τω περι την διαλεκτον ῥωτην εναργους. Ἑβραιοι γαρ την συγχυσιν Βαβελ καλεσι. Euseb. Chron. p. 13.

[88] Strabo speaks of a tower of immense size at Babylon, remaining in later times, which was a stadium every way. l. 16. p. 1073. These are nearly the dimensions of some of the principal pyramids in Egypt.

called, he says, from the confusion of tongues, and variation of dialect: for, in the Hebrew language, such confusion is termed Babel. The Scriptures speak only of a confusion of tongue: but Abydenus mentions high winds, which impeded the work, and finally overthrew the tower. The like is mentioned in the Sibylline oracles, together with the confusion of tongues: which circumstance most of these writers, from not being well versed in the original history, have supposed to have been [89] general. And similar to the history of Abydenus, an account is here given of a war, which broke out soon after.

Some traces of those fearful events, with which the dispersion is said to have been attended, seem to have been preserved in the records of Phenicia. Syria, and the greatest part of the country about Libanus, was, as I have abundantly shewn, possessed by the sons of Chus: and even the city Tyre was under their rule. The people of this city were styled Phenicians, and are said to have been driven from their first place of settlement, which we know to have been in Babylonia, by earthquakes. [90] Tyriorum gens, condita a Phœnicibus fuit; qui terræ motu vexati Assyrium

[89] Theophilus ad Autolyc. l. 2. p. 371.

[90] Justin. l. 18. c. 3.

stagnum primo, mox mari proximum littus incoluerunt.

I have mentioned the remarkable evidence of Eupolemus, who attributes the construction both of Babylon, and the Tower, to people of the giant race. By these are always meant the sons of Ham and Chus: so that it certainly was not a work of general co-operation. Epiphanius also takes notice of Babel, or Babylon; [91] της πρωτης πολεως μετα τον κατακλυσμον κτισθεισης· *Which*, he says, *was the first city that was built after the flood.* Επ' αυτη τη οικοδομη αρχη λοιπον συμβελιας, αθροισμε, και τυραννιδος, γινεται Νεβρωθ. Νεβρωθ γαρ βασιλευει υιος τε Χυς Αιθιοπος. *From the very foundation of this city, there commenced an immediate scene of conspiracy, sedition, and tyranny, which was carried on by Nimrod: for royalty was then first assumed by Nimrod, who was the son of Chus, the Æthiop.* He is in all histories represented as a giant; and, according to the [92] Persian accounts, was deified after his death, and called Orion. One of the

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[91] L. 1. p. 7.

[92] Χυς—οτις εγεννησε τον Νεβρωδ γιγαντα, τον την Βαβυλωνα κτισαντα, ὁν λεγουσιν οἱ Περσαι αποθεωθεντα, και γενομενον εν αστροις τω Ουριωνι, ὁντινα λεγουσιν ΩΡΙΩΝΑ. Chron. Pasch. p. 36. Εν δε τοις προειρημενοις χρονοις γεγονε τις γιγας, τουνομα Νεβρωδ, υιος Χυς του Αιθιοπος. Johan. Malala. p. 18.

asterisms in the celestial sphere was denominated from him. The Scripture speaks of him as a mighty hunter: and Homer, in reference to these histories, introduces him as a giant, and a hunter in the shades below.

[93] Τον δε μετ' Ωριωνα τελωριον εισενοησα
Θηρας ομε κιλευντα κατ' ασφοδελον λειμωνα,
Τας αυτος κατεπεφνεν εν οιοπολοισιν ορεσσι,
Χερσιν εχων ῥοπαλον παγχαλκεον, αιεν ααγες.

Next I beheld Orion's tow'ring shade,
Chasing the savage race; which wild with fear
Before him fled in herds. These he had slain
Upon the cliffs, and solitary hills.
His arms, a club of brass, massy and strong
Such as no force could injure.

The author of the Paschal Chronicle mentions all his attributes, in speaking of him: [94] Νεβρωδ ὁ κυνηγος, και Γιγας, ὁ Αιθιοψ.—Τουτῳ τῳ Νεβρωδ την βασιλειαν Βαβυλωνος μετα τον κατακλυσμον ἡ θεια γραφη ανα-

[93] Homer. Odyss. l. A. v. 571.
[94] Chron. Pasch. p. 28.

τιθησι. *Nebrod, the great hunter, and giant, the Ethiopian: whom the sacred writings make king of Babylon after the deluge.* The same author says, that he first taught the Assyrians to worship fire. Ουτος διδασκει Ασσυριους σεβειν το πυρ. By the Assyrians are meant the Babylonians, who in after times were included under that name, but in these days were a very distinct people. Nimrod, by the Grecians, was sometimes rendered Νεβρος, Nebros; which signifies also a fawn: whence in the history of Bacchus, and the Cuthites, there is always a play upon this term; as well as upon νεβρις and νεβριδες, *Nebris* and *Nebrides.*

They were not only the oriental historians, who retained the memory of these early events: manifest traces of the same are to be found in the Greek poets; who, though at first not easy to be understood, may be satisfactorily explained by what has preceded. The clue given above will readily lead us to the history, to which they allude. The dispersion of the Cuthites is manifestly to be discovered under the fable of the flight of Bacchus: and the disunion of that formidable body, which made so bold a stand, and the scattering of them over the face of the earth, is represented under the fable of dismembering the same person. It is said of him, that he was torn

[95] limb from limb: that his members were scattered different ways; but that he afterwards revived. The Scripture account is, that the Lord scattered them abroad; not to any certain place of destination, but over the face of the whole earth. This is plainly referred to by Nonnus, where he speaks of the retreat of Bacchus, and the dissipation of his associates; by whom are to be understood the Cuthites.

[96] Λαθεες δε φαλαγγες ανθεα κυκλα κελευθα
Εςιχον ενθα και ενθα διακριδον, ες πτερον Ευρε,
Εις τε ραχιν Ζεφυροιο, και Εσπεριε κλιμα γαιης.
Αιδε Νοτε παρα πεζαν αλημονες, αιδε Βορηος
Βασσαριδες κλονεοντο.

His wavering bands now fled in deep dismay
By different routs, uncertain where they pass'd,
Some sought the limits of the eastern world;

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[95] Clemens Alexandr. Cohort. p. 15. Οι Τιτανες διεσπασαν ετι νηπιακον οντα. Justin. Mart. Apolog. l. 1. p. 56. and 75. mentions Διονυσον διασπαρεντα. Bacchus was the same as Osiris.

Ogygia me Bacchum vocat:
Osirin Ægyptus putat: &c. Ausonius.

Osiris, in consequence of this, is supposed to have been torn to pieces, and his limbs scattered. Plutarch. Isis and Osiris. See also Diodorus Sicul. l. 3. p. 196.

[96] Nonni Dionysiac. l. 34. p. 864.

Some, where the craggy western coast extends,
Sped to the regions of the setting sun.
Sore travel others felt, and wandered far
Southward; while many sought the distant north,
All in confusion.

He speaks of this people in the feminine; because many of the attendants upon Bacchus were supposed to have been women, and were his priestesses: but the meaning of the story is evident. I shall shew that many of them fled by sea to India, where they settled upon the great Erythrean Ocean. The poet has an eye to this likewise in another place, where he speaks of the flight of Bacchus. He paints him in great terrors, and in the utmost consternation.

[97] Ταρβαλεοις δε ποδεσσι φυγων ακιχητος οδιτης,
Γλαυκον ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙΗΣ υπεδυσατο κυμα θαλασσης·
Τον δε Θετις βυθιη φιλεῳ πηκυνεν αγοσῳ,
Και μιν εσω δυνοντα πολυφλοισβοιο μελαθρα
Χερσι φιλοξεινοισιν Αραιῳ ησπαζετο Νηρευς.

Bacchus all trembling, as he fled away,
Call'd on the mighty Erythrean deep

[97] Nonni Dionysiac. l. 20. p. 552.

To yield him shelter. Thetis heard his cries,
And as he plung'd beneath the turbid wave,
Received him in her arms: old Nereus too,
The Arabian God, stretch'd out his friendly hand,
And led him darkling thro' the vast abyss
Of sounding waters.

The check which Bacchus received, and his flight in consequence of it, is supposed by many to have been in Thrace. Here Lycurgus is said to have been king, who drove Bacchus out of his dominions. But Lycurgus being made king of Thrace, is like Inachus and Phoroneus being the same at Argos, Deucalion in Thessaly. These are all antient traditions, ingrafted upon the history of the place by the posterity of those who introduced them. Diodorus Siculus [98] assures us, that many writers, and particularly Antimachus, made Lycurgus a king of Arabia: and Homer places the scene of this transaction at Nusa; but which Nusa he does not say. In short, Lycus, Lycorus, Lycoreus, and with a guttural, Lycurgus, were all names of the Deity; and by the Amonians appropriated to the Sun. Under the fable of [99] Lycur-

[98] L. 3. p. 199.

[99] Lycus, Sol. Macrob. Saturnal. l. 1. p. 195.

gus, who exterminated Bacchus and his associates, is veiled the true history of the just judgments of God upon Chus and his family, who fled every way from the place of vengeance, and passed the seas to obtain shelter. The sacred writings mention only a confusion of tongues: but all Pagan accounts allude to some other fearful judgment, with which this people were pursued till they were totally dissipated. Homer, speaking of Lycurgus, mentions this pursuit; but, by a common mistake, introduces Dionusus instead of Bacchus.

[100] Ὃς ποτε μαινομενοιο Διωνυσοιο Τιθηνας

So also Lycoreus, in Callimach. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 19.

Η κιθαρις, η τοξα Λυκωρειος εντια Φοιβου.

Lycurgus is Lycorus with a guttural; which manner of pronunciation was very common among the antients. Sp Reu, or Rau, is styled Ragau: the plains of Shinar, Singar and Singara; Sehor, Segor: Aza, Gaza: Nahum, Nachum: Isaac, Ischiac: Urhoe, the land of Ur, Urchoe, and Orchoe. The same place, styled Ωρα, is by the LXX always rendered Χωρα. The rites of fire were originally called Οφια, but were changed to Οργια: αια to γαια.

As Lycurgus was a title of the Deity, they sometimes gave it, which is extraordinary, to Bacchus himself, or at least to Dionusus. Και τον δι Διονυσον και τον Ηδωνων Λυκεργον συναπτοντες εις εν, των ιερων ὁμοιοτροπιαν αινιττονται. Strabo of the Thracians, and also of the Phrygians. l. 10. p. 722.

[100] Homer. Iliad. Z. v. 133.

Σευε κατ' ηγαθεον [1] Νυσσηιον· αἱ δ' ἁμα πασαι
Θυσθλα χαμαι κατεχευαν ὑπ' ανδροφονοιο Λυκοργω
Θεινομεναι βεπληγι. Διωνυσος δε φοβηθεις
Δυσεθ' ἁλος κατα κυμα· Οετις δ' ὑποδεξατο κολπῳ
Δειδιοτα.

In a mad mood, while Bacchus blindly rag'd,
Lycurgus drove his trembling bands confus'd
O'er the vast plains of Nusa. They in haste
Threw down their sacred implements, and fled
In dreadful dissipation. Bacchus saw
Rout upon rout; and, lost in wild dismay,
Plung'd in the deep: here Thetis in her arms
Receiv'd him, shuddering at the dire event.

By the τιθηναι, or nurses, of Bacchus are meant the priests and priestesses of the Cuthites. I make no doubt but the story is founded in truth; that there was some alarming judgment; terrified with which the Bacchians, or Cuthites, fled different ways; that their priests, in consternation, threw away what Hestiæus styles [2] ἱερωματα Ζηνος

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[1] Η μεν Νυσσα εν τισι χωραις ορος, ὡς εν Βοιωτια, και Θρακη, και Αραβια, και Ινδικη, και Λιβυη, και Ναξῳ, ὁπου δε πολις, ὡς εν Καρια, και εν τῳ Καυκασιῳ ορει· ὁπου δε νησος, ὡς εν Νειλῳ τῳ ποταμῳ. Scholia in Homer. supra.

[2] Euseb. Chron. p. 13.

Ενυαλιω, *all their implements of false worship.* In short, the hand of heaven hung heavy upon their rear, till they had totally quitted the scene of their apostasy and rebellion, and betaken themselves to different quarters. The reason why the Cuthites combined in a strong body, and maintained themselves in their forbidden territory, was a fear of separation. *Let us build us a tower, and make us a sign, lest we be scattered abroad.* It was their lot to be totally dissipated; and they were the greatest wanderers of all nations; and the titles of αλητα and αλημονες are peculiar to their history. They seem to have been in a roving state for ages.

I have often taken notice of a custom which prevailed among the Grecians, and consisted in changing every foreign term that came under their view to something of similar sound in their own language, though it were ever so remote in sense. A remarkable instance, if I mistake not, may be found in this passage from Homer. The text manifestly alludes to the vengeance of the Deity, and the dispersion of the sons of Chus. The term Βου, Bou, in the Amonian language, signified any thing large and noble. The God Sehor was called Bou-Sehor. This was the Busiris (Βυσιρις) of the Greeks, who retained this term in their own language, and used it in the same sense. Accordingly, Βυπαις was a jolly fine boy; Βυβυσια, a

great sacrifice: Βαπρηνες, vast rocks: Βαγαιος, a great boaster: Βαλιμος, great hunger or famine. Hence Hesychius tells us, Βου, το μεγα και πολυ δηλοι. *By Bou is signified any thing great and abundant.* The term Pleg, or Peleg, related to separation and dispersion: and when Homer mentions δεινομενοι βωπληγι, the original word was Bou-pleg, or Bou-peleg, which means literally a great dispersion. In the Hebrew tongue, of which the Amonian was a collateral branch, פלח, Pelach is to separate; and, פלג, Peleg to sever, and divide. The son of Heber was named Peleg, [3] *because in his days the earth was divided:* and his name accordingly signified division, and separation. But the poet, not knowing, or not regarding, the true meaning of the word Pleg, or Peleg, has changed it to an instrument of husbandry. And instead of saying, that the Deity pursued the rebels, and scattered them with (Boupleg) a great dissipation, he has made Lycurgus follow and beat them, βωπληγι, with an ox-goad.

The city of Babel, where was the scene of those great occurrences, which we have been mentioning, was begun by Nimrod, and enlarged by his posterity. It seems to have been a great seminary of idolatry: and the tower, a stupendous build-

[3] Genesis. c. 10. v. 25.

ing, was erected in honour of the sun, and named the Tower of Bel. Upon the confusion of speech, both the city and tower were called Babel; the original appellation not being obliterated, but contained in the latter. And as the city was devoted to the worship of the sun, it was also called the city of Bel-On, sive civitas Dei Solis: which was afterwards changed to Babylon. From these terms, I think, we may learn the nature of the judgment inflicted at the time of the dispersion. It did not consist in an utter change of language; but, as I have said before, it was a labial failure; an alteration in the mode of speech. It may be called the prevarication of the lip; which had lost all precision, and perverted every sound that was to be expressed. Instead of Bel, it pronounced Babel; instead of Bel-on, Babylon: hence Babel, amongst other nations, was used as a term to signify a faulty pronunciation. Εβραιοι γαρ την συγχυσιν Βαβελ καλουσι. *The Hebrews*, says [4] Josephus, *by the word Babel denote confusion of speech.* These terms seem ever afterwards to have been retained, even by the natives, in confirmation of this extraordinary history: and the city, as long as it existed, was called Babylon, or *the City of Confusion.*

[4] Ant. l. 1. c. 4.

The tower of Babel was probably a rude mound of earth, raised to a vast height, and cased with bricks, which were formed from the soil of the country, and cemented with asphaltus or bitumen. There are several edifices of this sort still to be seen in the region of Babylonia. They are very like the brick pyramids in Egypt: and between every ninth or tenth row of plinth they have a layer of straw, and sometimes the smaller branches of palm. Travellers have had the curiosity to put in their hands, and to extract some of the leaves, and straws: which appear wonderfully fresh, and perfect; though they have lain there for so many ages. Many have been led to think, that one or other of these buildings was the original tower of Babel. But antient writers are unanimous, that it was overthrown; and that Nimrod perished in it. This was the opinion of Syncellus. [5] Εκεινος δε εμεινεν εκει κατοικων, και μη αφισθαμενος τȣ Πυργȣ, βασιλευων μερικȣ τινος πληθους, εφ' ὁν ὁ πυργος ανεμῳ βιαιῳ, ὡς ἱςορȣσι, καταπεσων, θειᾳ κρισει τȣτον επαταξεν. *But Nimrod would still obstinately stay, and reside upon the spot: nor could he by any means be withdrawn from the tower, still having the command over no contemptible body of men. Upon this, we are informed, that the tower being*

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[5] Ant. p. 42.

beat upon by violent winds gave way; and by the just judgment of God crushed him to pieces. Cedrenus also mentions it as a current notion, that Nimrod perished in the [6] tower. But this, I think, could not be true: for the term of Nimrod's life, extend it to the utmost of Patriarchic age after the flood, could not have sufficed for this. And though writers do assert, that the tower was overthrown, and the principal person buried in its ruins: and it must be confessed, that antient mythology has continual allusions to some such event: yet I should imagine, that this related to the overthrow of the deity there worshipped, and to the extirpation of his rites and religion, rather than to any real person. The fable of Vulcan, who was thrown down from heaven, and cast into the sea, is founded upon this story. He was supposed to have been the son of Juno, and detested by his mother, who threw him down with her own hands.

[7] Παις εμος Ἡφαιςος, ῥικνος ποδας, ὁν τεκον αυτη,
Ῥιψ' ανα χερσιν ἑλεσα, και εμβαλον ευρεϊ ποντῳ.

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[6] Εφ' ὁν ὁ Πυργος ανεμῳ, βιαιῳ, ὡς ἱςορουσι τινες, και αυτος Ιοσηπος, καταπεσων συνετριβε. Cedrenus. p. 11. See Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4.

[7] Homer. Hymn to Apollo. v. 317. It related probably to the abolition of fire-worship at the destruction of Babel.

My crippled offspring Vulcan I produc'd;
But soon I seiz'd the miscreant in my hands,
And hurl'd him headlong downward to the sea.

Many writers speak of him as being thrown off from the battlements of a high tower by Jupiter: and there is a passage to this purpose in Homer, which has embarrassed commentators; though I do not think it very obscure, if we consider the history to which it relates.

[5] Ῥιψε ποδος τεταγων απο Βηλε θεσπεσιοιο.

The poet, who was a zealous copier of antient mythology, mentions, that Vulcan was cast down by Jupiter from an eminence. He says, that he was thrown απο Βηλε which must certainly signify απο πυργε Βηλε, or αφ' ιερε Βηλε; for the sentence is manifestly elliptical.

He seiz'd him by the foot, and headlong threw
From the high tower of Belus.

This is the purport of the passage; and it is consonant to all history.

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[5] Iliad. V. A. v. 591.

The Giants, whom Abydenus makes the builders of Babel, are, by other writers, represented as the Titans. They are said to have received their name from their mother Titæa. [9] Κοινως δε παντας απο της μητρος ονομαζομενες Τιτηνας: by which we are to understand, that they were all denominated from their religion and place of worship. I have taken notice of some of the antient altars, which consisted of a conical hill of earth, styled oftentimes, from its figure, λοφος μαστοειδης, *a mound, or hill, in the shape of a woman's breast.* Titæa (Τιταια) was one of these. It is a term compounded of [10] Tit-aia, and signifies literally a breast of earth, analogous to τιτθος αιας of the Greeks. These altars were also called Tit-an, and Tit-anis, from the great fountain of light,

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[9] Diod. Sicul. l. 3. p. 190.

Κυρης δ' Ουρανιωνας εγεινατο σοτνια Γαια,
Ους δη και Τιτηνας επικλησιν καλεουσιν.

Orphic. Frag. p. 375.

[10] Tit is analogous to תיר, Tid, of the Chaldeans.

So Titurus was from Tit-Ur, μαστος Ωρυ. The priests, so famous for their music, were from hence styled Tituri. It was sometimes expressed Tith-Or; hence the summit of Parnassus had the name of Tithorea, being sacred to Orus, the Apollo of Greece. Pausan. l. 10. p. 878.

There were places named Titaresus, from Tit-Ares, the same as Tit-Orus. Τιταρησιος σοταμος Ηπειρυ. Hesych.

styled An, and Anis. Hence many places were called Titanis and [11] Titana, where the worship of the Sun prevailed: for Anes, and Hanes, signified the fountain of light, or fire. Titana was sometimes expressed Tithana, by the Ionians rendered Tithena: and as Titæa was supposed to have been the mother of the Titans, so Tithena was said to be their [12] nurse. But they were all uniformly of the same nature, altars raised of soil. That Tith-ana, the supposed nurse, was a sacred mound of earth, is plain from Nonnus, who mentions an altar of this sort in the vicinity of Tyre; and says, that it was erected by those earth-born people, the Giants.

[13] Ἀγχι [14] Τυρου παρα ποντον, ἐν ἀμμαγεεσσι δε πετραις,
Γηγενεες βαθυκολπον ἐδειμησαντο Τιθηνην.

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[11] At Sicyon was a place called Titana. Steph. Byzant. also a temple. Pausan. l. 2. p. 188.

Eubœa called Titanis. Hesych.

[12] Τιθηναι· τροφοι, τιτθαι. Hesych. So Tith-On was like Tith-Or, μασος ἡλιου: whence was formed a personage, named Tithonus, beloved by Aurora.

[13] Nonni Dionys. l. 40. p. 1048.

[14] Bel, and Belus, was a title bestowed upon many persons. It was particularly given to Nimrod, who built the city Babel or Babylon. Hence Dorotheus Sidonius, an antient poet, calls that city the work of Tyrian Belus.

Upon the coast of Tyre, amid the rocks,
The Giants rais'd an ample mound of earth,
Yclep'd Tithena.

Tuph also, in the antient language, was an hill; and Typhœus is a masculine compound from Tuph-aia, and signifies a mound of earth. Typhon, Τυφων, was in like manner a compound of Tuph-On; and was a mount, or altar, of the same construction, and sacred to the sun. I make no doubt but both Typhon and Typhœus were names by which the tower of Belus was of old denoted. But out of these the mythologists have formed personages; and they represent them as gigantic monsters, whom the earth produced in defiance of heaven. Hence Typhon is, by Antoninus Liberalis, described as [15] Γης υιος εξαισιος

Αρχαιη Βαβυλων Τυριω Βηλοιο πολισμα.

This term Τυριος has been applied to the city Tyre. But Τυριος here is from חוֹר, Turris; and Belus Τυριος signifies Belus of Babel, who erected the famous tower. This leads me to suspect, that in these verses of Nonnus there is a mistake; and that this Tithena, which the Giants built, was not in the vicinity of the city Tyre: but it was an high altar, αγχι Τυρου, near the tower of Babel, which was erected by the Titanians. Nonnus, imagining that by Tur was meant Tyre, has made the Tithena to be situate παρα πουτον, *by the sea*; from which, I believe, it was far removed.

[15] Typhon, Terræ filius. Hyginus. fab. 152.

Δαιμων, *the offspring of the earth, a baleful Dæmon.* The tower of Babel was undoubtedly a Tuphun, or altar of the sun, though generally represented as a temple. For in those early times we do not read of any sacred edifices which can be properly called temples, but only of altars, groves, and high places. Hesiod certainly alludes to some antient history concerning the demolition of Babel, when he describes Typhon, or Typhœus, as overthrown by Jove. He represents him as the youngest son of the Earth.

[16] Ὁπλοτατον τεκε παιδα Τυφωεα [17] Γαια Πελωρα.

Th' enormous Earth,
Produc'd Typhœus last of all her brood.

The poet speaks of him as a deity of great strength, and immense stature; and says, that from his shoulders arose an hundred serpent heads, and that from his eyes there issued a continual blazing fire. And he adds, what is very remarkable, that had it not been for the interpo-

[16] Theogon. v. 821.

[17] Typhœus was properly Γαια Πελωρα, a Pelorian mound of earth; being, as I said above, a masculine from Tuphœa, which is a compound of Tuph-aia, a mound of earth.

sition of the chief God, this Dæmon would have obtained an universal empire.

[13] Και νυ κεν επλετο εργον αμηχανον ηματι κεινῳ,
Και κεν ὁγε θνητοισι, και αθανατοισιν αναξεν,
Ει μη αρ' οξυ νοησε πατηρ ανδρωντε θεωντε,
Σκληρον δ' εβροντησε, και οβριμον· αμφι δε γαια
Σμερδαλεον κοναβησε, και Ουρανος ευρυς ὑπερθεν,
Ποντος τ', ωκεανος τε ῥοαι, και Ταρταρα γαιης.
Ποσσι δ' ὑπ' αθανατοισι μεγας πελεμιζετ' Ολυμπος,
Ορνυμενοιο Ανακτος, επεςεναχιζε δε γαια,
Καυμα δ' ὑπ' αμφοτερων κατεχεν ιοειδεα ποντον.
Ζευς επει ουν κορθυνε ἑον μενος, ἑιλετο δ' ὁπλα,
Βροντην τε, ςεροπηντε, και αιθαλοεντα κεραυνον,
Πληξεν απ' Ουλυμποιο επαλμενος.——
Αυταρ-επει δη μιν δαμασε πληγῃσιν ἱμασσας,
Ηριπε γυιωθεις.

That day was teeming with a dire event;
And o'er the world Typhœus now had reign'd
With universal sway: but from on high
Jove view'd his purpose, and oppos'd his power.
For with a strong and desperate aim he hurl'd
His dread artillery. Then the realms above,
And earth with all its regions; then the sea,
And the Tartarean caverns, dark and drear,

[13] Hesiod. supra. v. 836.

Resounded with his thunder. Heaven was mov'd,
And the ground trembled underneath his feet,
As the God march'd in terrible array.
Still with fresh vigour Jove renew'd the fight;
And clad in all his bright terrific arms,
With lightnings keen, and smouldering thunderbolts,
Press'd on him sore; till by repeated wounds
The tow'ring monster sunk to endless night.

Typhon was the same personage as Typhœus; and Antoninus,[20] Liberalis describes him as a Giant, who was thunderstruck by Jupiter. But he fled to the sea, into which he plunged, and his deadly wounds were healed. The like has been said of Bacchus, that upon his flight he betook himself to the sea. And when Vulcan is cast down from the tower, he is supposed to fall into the same element. Juno is accordingly made to say,

Ῥιψ' ανα χερσιν ἑλουσα, και εμβαλον ευρεϊ ποντῳ,

I seiz'd him in my arms,
And hurl'd him headlong downward to the sea,

---

[20] Ὁ τυφων εκρυψεν ἑαυτον, και ηφανισε την Θλογα, εν τη θαλασσῃ. Fab. 28.

Hesiod gives an account of the dispersion of the Titans, and of the feuds which preceded: and he says, that the Deity at last interposed, and put the Titans to flight, and condemned them to reside in Tartarus, at the extremities of the earth. The description is very fine; but he has confounded the history by supposing the Giants and Titans to have been different persons. He accordingly makes them oppose one another in battle: and even Cottus, Iapetus, Gyas, whom all writers mention as Titans, are by him introduced in opposition, and described as of another family. He sends them indeed to Tartarus; but supposes them to be there placed, as a guard over the Titans. His description, however, is much to the purpose; and the first contest and dispersion is plainly alluded to. I shall therefore lay some part of it before the reader.

[21] Τιτηνες δ' ἑτερωθεν εκαρτυναντο φαλαγγας
Προφρονιεως· χειρωντε, βιησθ' ἀλα εργον εφαινον
Αμφοτεροι· δεινον δε περιαχε παντος απειρων,
Γη δε μεγ' εσμαραγησεν, επεςενε δ' ουρανος ευρυς
Σειομενος, πεδοθεν δ' ετινασσατο μακρος Ολυμπος.
. . . . . .
Φωνη δ' αμφοτερων ικετ' Ουρανον αςεροεντα

[21] Theogon. v. 676.

Κεκλομενων· οἱ δε ξυνισαν μεγαλῳ αλαλητῳ.
Ου δ' αρ' ετι Ζευς ισχεν ἑον μενος, αλλα νυ τε γε
Ειθαρ μεν μενεος πλητο φρενες, εκ δε τε πασαν
Φαινε βιην· αμυδις δ' αρ' απ' Ουρανε, ηδ' απ' Ολυμπυ,
Ασραπτων εξειχε συνωχαδον, οἱ δε κεραυνοι
Ικταρ ἁμα βροντῃτε και αστεροπῃ πετεσντο
Χειρος απο σιβαρης.
Συν δ' ανεμοι ενοσιντε κονιθ' ἁμα εσφαραγιζον,
Βροντηντε, σεροπηντε, και αιθαλοεντα κεραυνον·
Εζεε δε χθων πασα, και ωκεανοιο ῥεεθρα,
Ποντοσ' ατρυγετος· τυς δ' αμφιπε θερμος αὖτμη
Τιτηνας χθονιυς· φλοξ δ' ηερα διαν ἰκανεν
Ασπετος· οσσι δ' αμερδε και ισθμιον περ εοντων
Αυγη μαρμαιρυσα κεραυνυτε σεροπητε.

. . . . . .

Καυμα τε Σεσπεσιον κατεχεν χαος——
Εκλινθη δε μαχη.
Και τυς μεν Τιτηνας ὑπο χθονος ευρυοδειης
Πεμψαν, και δεσμοισιν εν αργαλεοισιν ἐδησαν,
Νικησαντες χερσιν ὑπερθυμους περ εοντας·

. . . . . .

Ενθα Σεοι Τιτηνες ὑπο ζοφῳ περοεντι
Κεκρυφαται——
Ενθα δε γης δνοφερης, και Ταρταρε περοεντος,
Ποντυ' ατρυγετοιο, και Ουρανε ασεροεντος,
Ἐξεισης παντων πηγαι και πειρατ' εασιν.

Firm to their cause the Titans wide display'd
A well-embodied phalanx: and each side

Gave proofs of noble prowess, and great strength,
Worthy of Gods. The tumult reach'd to heaven,
And high Olympus trembled as they strove.
Sea too was mov'd; and Earth astonish'd heard
The noise and shouts of deities engag'd,
High vaunts, loud outcries, and the din of war.
Now Jove no longer could withhold his ire;
But rose with tenfold vengeance: down he hurl'd
His lightning, dreadful implement of wrath,
Which flash'd incessant: and before him mov'd
His awful thunder, with tremendous peal
Appalling, and astounding, as it roll'd.
For from a mighty hand it shap'd its course,
Loud echoing through the vaulted realms of day.
Meantime storms rag'd; and dusky whirlwinds rose.
Still blaz'd the lightning with continual glare,
Till nature languish'd: and th' expanded deep,
And every stream, that lav'd the glowing earth,
Boil'd with redounding heat. A ruddy flame
Shot upwards to the fiery cope of heav'n,
Shedding a baleful influence; and the gleam
Smote dreadful on the Titan bands, whose eyes
Were blasted, as they gaz'd; nor could they stand
The fervour, but exhausted sunk to ground.
The Gods, victorious, aid'd the rebel crew;

And sent them, bound in adamantine chains,
To earth's deep caverns, and the shades of night.
Here dwell th' apostate brotherhood, consign'd
To everlasting durance: here they sit
Age after age in melancholy state,
Still pining in eternal gloom, and lost
To every comfort. Round them wide extend
The dreary bounds of earth, and sea, and air,
Of heaven above, and Tartarus below.

Such was the first great commotion among men. It was described by the poets as the war of the Giants; who raised mountains upon mountains in order that they might scale heaven. The sons of Chus were the aggressors in these acts of rebellion. They have been represented under the character both of Giants and Titanians: and are said to have been dissipated into different parts of the world. One place of their retreat is mentioned to have been in that part of Scythia, which bordered upon the Palus Mæotis. It was called [22] Keira; and described as a vast cavern, which they fortified. The Romans under Crassus are said to have viewed it. But Keir, and Keirah, signified of old a city or fortress: and it was the

[22] Το σπηλαιον την Κειρην καλουμενην. Dion. Cassius. l. 51. p. 313.

appellative name of the place, to which this people retired. They were to be found in various parts, as I shall shew: but the most prevailing notion about the Titanians was, that after their war against heaven, they were banished to Tartarus, at the extremities of the earth. The antient Grecians knew very little of the western parts of the world. They therefore represent the Titans, as in a state of darkness; and Tartarus as an infernal region.

[23] Και τους μεν υπο χθονος ευρυοδειης
Πεμψαν, και δεσμοισιν υπ' αργαλεοισιν εδησαν,
Τοσσον ενερθ' υπο γης, οσον Ουρανος εξ' απο γαιης.

They plac'd the rebels, fast in fetters bound,
Deep in a gloomy gulf; as far remov'd
From earth's fair regions, as the earth from heaven.

They are the words of Hesiod; who says, that an anvil of iron being dropped down would but just reach the abyss in ten days. Here the Titans were doomed to reside.

[24] Ενθα θεοι Τιτηνες υπο ζοφω ηεροεντι

[23] Hesiod. Theog. v. 717.
[24] Ibid. v. 729.

Κικρυφαται, βελησι Διος νεφεληγερεταο,
Χωρῳ εν τυρωεντι, πελωρης εσχατα γαιης.
Ενθα Γυγης, Κοττος τε, και ὁ Βριαρευς μεγαθυμος
Ναιεσιν.

There the Titanian Gods by Jove's high will
In mansions dark and dreary lie conceal'd,
Beyond the verge of nature. Cottus here,
And Gyges dwell, and Briareus the bold.

These were part of the Titanian brood, though the author seems not to allow it. This will appear from some of the Orphic fragments, where we have the names of the Titans, and a similar account of their being condemned to darkness.

[25] Κοιον τε, Κρειον τε μεγαν, Φορκυν τε κραταιον,
Και Κρονον, Ωκεανονθ', Υπερειονατ', Ιαπετον τε.

The poet here specifies seven in number; Cœus, Crius, Phorcys, Cronus, Oceanus, Hyperion, and Iäpetus, and he adds,

Ως δ' αυτες ενοησεν αμειλιχον ητορ εχοντας,
Και φυσιν εκνομιην.——
Ριπτε βαθυν γαιης ες Ταρταρον.

[25] Orphic. Frag. p. 374.

Soon as high Jove their cruel purpose saw,
And lawless disposition——
He sent them down to Tartarus consign'd.

If we look into the grounds of these fictions, we shall find that they took their rise from this true history. A large body of Titanians, after the dispersion settled in Mauritania, which is the region styled Tartarus. Diodorus Siculus mentions the coming of Cronus into these parts; and gives us the names of the brotherhood, those sons of Titæa, who came with them. The principal of these, exclusive of Cronus, were [26] Oceanus, Cœus, Iäpetus, Crius, and Hyperion: who were supposed first to have settled in Crete. Atlas was another of them, from whom they had the name of [27] Atlantians; and they were looked upon as the offspring of heaven. The above historian describes the country, which they possessed, as lying upon the great ocean: and however it may be represented by the poets, he speaks of it as

[26] Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 334. According to Apollodorus, their names were Ouranus, Cœus, Hyperion, Crius, Iapetus, and the youngest of all, Cronus. l. 1. p. 2.

[27] Diodor. l. 3. p. 189.

a happy [28] region. The mythologists adjudged the Titans to the realms of night; and consequently to a most uncomfortable climate; merely from not attending to the purport of the term ζοφος.

Ενθα θεαι Τιτηνες υπο ζοφω ηερεντι
Κεκευθασιν.

It is to be observed, that this word had two significations. First, it denoted the west, or place of the setting sun. Hence Ulysses being in a state of uncertainty says, [29] ου γαρ τ' ιδμεν, οπη ζοφος, ουδ' οπη ηως. *We cannot determine, which is the west, or which is the east.* It signified also darkness: and from this secondary acceptation the Titans of the west were consigned to the realms of night: being situated in respect to Greece towards the regions of the setting sun. The vast unfathomable abyss, spoken of by the poets, is the great Atlantic Ocean; upon the borders of which Homer also places the gloomy mansions, where the Titans resided. The antients had a notion, that the earth was a widely-extended plain; which terminated abruptly, in a vast cliff

[28] Χωρὰν ευδαιμονα. Ibid.
[29] Odyss. K. v. 190.

of immeasurable descent. At the bottom was a chaotic pool, or ocean; which was so far sunk beneath the confines of the world, that, to express the depth and distance, they imagined, an anvil of iron tossed from the top would not reach it under ten days. But this mighty pool was the ocean abovementioned; and these extreme parts of the earth were Mauritania, and Iberia: for in each of these countries the Titans resided. Hence Callimachus, speaking of the latter country, describes the natives under the title of [30] Οψιγονοι Τιτηνες; by which is meant *the offspring of the antient Titans*. They were people of the Cuthite race, who also took up their habitation in Mauritania; and were represented as the children of Atlas. He was described as the son of Iäpetus the Titan; and of so vast a stature, as to be able to support the heavens.

[31] Των προσθ' Ιαπετοιο παϊς εχει' ουρανον ευρυν

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[30] Ζοφος, σκοτος. Hesych. Λιγυς δε ὁ πρινητης και το σκοτος, και την δυσιν, ζοφον. Ibid.

[30] Κιλτον αναγησαιτις αρηα
Οψιγονοι Τιτηνες αφ' ισπερω ισχατοωντος.
Hymn. in Delon. v. 174.

[31] Hesiod. Theog. v. 746.

Ατλας δ' Ουρανον ευρυν εχει κρατερης υπ' αναγκης
Πειρασιν εν γαιης. Ibid. v. 517.

Ἑςηως, κεφαλῃτε και ακαματῃσι χερεσσιν
Αςεμφεως.

There Atlas, son of great Iäpetus,
With head inclin'd, and ever-during arms,
Sustains the spacious heavens.

To this Atlantic region the Titans were banished; and supposed to live in a state of darkness beyond the limits of the known world.

[32] Προσθεν δε, θεων εκτοσθεν ἁπαντων,
Τιτηνες ναιουσι περην χαεος ζοφεροιο.

Farthest remov'd
Of all their kindred Gods the Titans dwell,
Beyond the realms of chaos dark.

By χαος ζοφερον we must certainly understand the western ocean; upon the borders of which, and not beyond it, these Titanians dwelt. By the Nubian Geographer the Atlantic is uniformly called, according to the present version, Mare Tenebrarum. [33] Aggressi sunt mare tenebrarum, quid in eo esset, exploraturi. *They ventured into*

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[32] Ibid. v. 813.

[33] Geog. Nubiensis. p. 4. p. 6. and p. 156.

the sea of darkness, in order to explore what it might contain. Another name for Tartarus, to which the poets condemned the Titans and Giants, was Erebus. This, like ζοφός, was a term of two-fold meaning. For Ereb, ערב, signified both the west, and also darkness; and this served to confirm the notion, that the Titans were consigned to the regions of night. But gloomy as the country is described, and horrid, we may be assured, from the authorities of [34] Diodorus and Pliny, that it was quite the reverse; and we have reason to think, that it was much resorted to; and that the natives for a long time kept up a correspondence with other branches of their family. Homer affords some authority for this opinion, in a passage where he represents Jupiter as accosting Juno, who is greatly displeased.

[35] σεθεν δ' εγω ουκ αλεγιζω
Χωομενης, ουδ' εικε τα νειατα πειραθ' ἱκηαι
Γαιης και πουτοιο, ἱν' Ιαπετοστε Κρονοστε
Ἡμενοι, ουτ' αυγης Ὑπεριονος Ηελιοιο
Τερπουτ', ουτ' ανεμοισι, βαθυς δε τε Ταρταρος αμφις.

I shall not, says Jupiter, *regard your resentment;*

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[34] Χωραν ευδαιμονα νεμομενοι (Ατλαντες). l. 3. p. 189.
[35] Iliad. Θ. v. 477.

not though you should desert me, and betake yourself to the extremities of the earth, to the boundaries of sea and land; νειατα πειρατα, *to the lower limits, where Iapetus and Cronus reside; who never enjoy the light of the sun, nor are refreshed with cooling breezes; but are seated in the depths of Tartarus.* In the Ion of Euripides, Creüsa, being in great distress, wishes that she could fly away to the people of the western world, which she alludes to as a place of security.

[36] Αιθ' ὑγρον αν πταιην αιθερα
Προσω γαιας Ἑλλανιας
Αστερας Ἑσπεριους·
Ὁιον ὁιον αλγος επαθον.

O! that I could be wafted through the yielding air,
Far, very far, from Hellas,
To the inhabitants of the Hesperian region:
So great is my load of grief.

From the words of Jupiter above, who tells Juno, that she may retire to the regions in the west; and from these of Creüsa, who longs to betake herself to the same parts, we may infer, that in

[36] Euripid. Ion. v. 796.

the first ages it was not uncommon for people in distress to retire to these settlements. Probably famine, sickness, and oppression, as well as the inroads of a powerful enemy, might oblige the Iönim to migrate. And however the Atlantic Titanians may have been like the Cimmerians, described as a people devoted to darkness, yet we find them otherwise represented by Creüsa, who styles them Ἀστέρας Ἑσπερίους, *the stars of the western world.* They were so denominated from being the offspring of the original Iönim, or Peleiadæ, of Babylonia; in memory of whom there was a constellation formed in the heavens. These Peleiadæ are generally supposed to have been the daughters of Atlas, and by their names the stars in this constellation are distinguished. Diodorus Siculus has given us a list of them, and adds, that from them the most celebrated [37] heroes were descended. The Helladians were particularly of this family; and their religion and Gods were of Titanian [38] original.

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[37] Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 194.

[38] Οὐρανὸς καὶ Γῆς εἰσιν οἱ περὶ Κρονον, καὶ οἱ ἀλλοι Τιτανες· ἐκ δὲ των Τιτάνων οἱ ὑστεροι Θεοι. Scholia in Pind. Nem. Od. 6. v. 1.

Τιτηνες——Ἡμιτερων προγονοι πατερων. Orphic. Hymn. 36. Pindar says, that the Titans were at last freed from their bondage. Λυσε δὲ Ζευς ἀφθιτος Τιτανας. Pyth. Od. 4. v. 518.

GENESIS. CHAP. X.

V. 8. *And Cush begat Nimrod. He began to be a mighty one in the earth.*

. . . . . .

10. *And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calne, in the land of Shinar.*

11. *Out of that land went forth Assur, and builded Nineveh; and the city Rehoboth, and Calah:*

12. *And Rezen between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city.*

IN the course of my arguments I have followed the common interpretation of the passage above about Assur, and Nineve in verse the eleventh. And I think we may be assured, both from the context, and from the subsequent history of the city and country, that this is the true meaning of the sacred writer. I mention this because the learned Bochart does not allow that Nineve was founded by Assur. He gives a different interpretation to the [39] passage, going contrary to all

[39] Gen. c. 10. v. 11.

the versions which have preceded. Instead of *out of this land went Assur, and builded Nineve,* he renders it, *out of this land he (Nimrod) went into Assur, or Assyria, and built the cities mentioned.* [40] He adds, habeo persuasissimum Assur hic hominis nomen non esse, sed loci:—adeoque verba Hebræa ita reddenda: *Egressus est in Assyriam. I am persuaded, that the term Assur is not in this place the name of a man; but of a place.—The words therefore in the original are to be thus interpreted. He (Nimrod) went out of this land into Assyria.* In this opinion he has been followed by others, who have been too easily prejudiced against the common acceptation of the passage.

As the authority of Bochart must necessarily be of great weight, I have subjoined his arguments, that the reader may judge of their validity.

1. His first objection to the common version is this. He thinks, that there is an impropriety in having the name of Assur, the son of Shem, introduced where the sacred text is taken up with the genealogy of the sons of Ham.

2. It is contrary to order, that the operations of Assur should be mentioned v. 11. and his birth not till afterwards at v. 22.

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[40] Geog. Sacra. l. 4. c. 12. p. 229. He is followed in this opinion by Le Clerc.

3. There is nothing particular in saying that Assur went out of the land of Shinar; for it was in a manner common to all mankind, who were from thence scattered abroad over the face of the earth.

These objections are by no means well grounded: and the alteration proposed, by remedying a fancied evil, would run us into innumerable difficulties and contradictions. Is Assur be in this passage referred to as the name of a region, the same as Assyria: and if Nimrod seized upon a pre-occupied place; colonies must have gone forth before the dispersion from Babel. This (whatever my opinion may be) is a contradiction in Bochart; who supposes the dispersion to have been universal, and from the land of Shinar; not allowing any previous migration. The principal city of Nimrod was Babel, separated from Nineve, and the other cities above, by a sandy [41] wild; and it is said to have been left unfinished. *They left off to build the city.* c. 11. v. 8. Is it credible, that a person would traverse a desert, and travel into a foreign country to found cities, be-

[41] Among the learned men, who have betaken themselves to these researches, I have hardly met with one, that has duly considered the situation, distance, and natural history of the places, about which they treat.

fore he had completed the capital of his own kingdom? It cannot, I think, be imagined.

As to the supposed impropriety of introducing an account of Assur, where the text is taken up with the genealogy of another family, it is an objection of little weight. It arises from our not seeing things in their true light. We should observe, that it is not properly the history of Assur, which is here given; but the history of Nimrod. He trespassed upon Assur, and forced him out of his original property: and the accounts of each are so connected, that one must be mentioned with the other, or the history would be incomplete. Many things recorded in Scripture are not introduced according to precise method: and the like is to be found in all writings. We have in the same book of Moses an account given of [42] Canaan, the son of Ham, antecedent to the genealogy of his family, which comes afterwards in another [43] chapter.

Bochart thinks, that the mentioning of Assur's going forth out of Shinar is unnecessary: as it was a circumstance common to all mankind: but I have endeavoured to prove, that all mankind were not concerned in the dispersion from Shinar. Be-

[42] Gen. c. 9.
[43] C. 10.

sides, Bochart does not quote the whole of the passage, but omits, what is immediately subjoined, and of no small moment. The sacred writer does not merely say, that Assur went forth out of the land; but that *he went out and builded cities;* a circumstance not common to all. These cities were afterwards of great renown; and it was of consequence to be told their founder, and the reason of their being built.

This learned writer tries farther to prove, that the Hebrew term יצא, which is translated by the words *went forth*, always denotes a martial expedition: and he adds, Nimrod porro dicitur egressus esse in Assur, nempe ad bellum inferendum. By this we find, that, according to Bochart, Nimrod made war upon the Assyrians, and [44] seized upon their country. I should be glad to know when this happened. Was it antecedent to the general dispersion? If so, colonies had gone forth, and kingdoms were founded, before that event: and the dispersion was not, as he maintains, general; a circumstance, which I have urged before. If it were afterwards; then Nimrod and his associates were left to follow their wicked purposes, when all other families were

[44] Quod jure non poterat sibi arrogare, id per vim usurpavit. Bochart. l. 4. p. 230.

scattered abroad. When the rest of the world was dissipated, the founders of Babel were exempted from the calamity. This, I think, cannot be allowed.

Bochart farther adds, that Nimrod must have been in possession of Assyria: for it was called the land of Nimrod. The converse perhaps might have been true, that the land of Nimrod was called Assyria: for the region of Babylonia and Chaldea was the original country of Assur, and was possessed by Nimrod. But that the region about Nineve, to which Bochart alludes, was ever referred to Nimrod, I am certain is a groundless surmise: and Bochart is mistaken in the passage, which he quotes. His evidence is taken from [45] Micah, where these words are found. Et depascent terram Assyriæ gladio, et terram Nimrod lanceis ejus: [46] vel si mavis, ostiis ejus. He supposes, that the land of Assur, and the land of Nimrod, of which the prophet here makes mention, were one and the same region. But he is surely guilty of a strange presumption. If this were the purport of the passage, there would be, I think, an unnecessary repetition; and a redundancy not common in the sacred writings. By

[45] C. 5. v. 6.

[46] Bochart supra.

the land of Assur is plainly meant the region of Assyria; but by the land of Nimrod is signified the country of Babylonia, which was the true and only land of Nimrod. In order to understand the purport of the prophecy, we should consider the time when it was [47] uttered. Micah is foretelling the ruin of the Assyrian empire, of which Babylonia, by conquest, had been made a part. But the Babylonians were at this time disengaging themselves from their dependence, and setting up for themselves. However, as they made a part of the Assyrian empire, they were to share in its calamities. To these events the prophecy alludes; in which two nations, and two different regions, are described. We may therefore be assured, that the land of Assyria, and the land of Nimrod, were two distinct countries.

In consequence of this, it may not be improper to recapitulate what I have before said about the peopling of the regions, of which we have been treating. At the time of the migration from Ararat, in Armenia, the sons of Shem came down through the principal passage in Mount Taurus to the countries which they were to occupy. Elam possessed the region called afterwards Ely-

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[47] Micah prophesied about the times of Salmanassar, and Assarhadon; and of Merodach Baladan of Babylonia.

maïs, upon the lower and eastern part of the Tigris;[48] and opposite to him was Assur. Above Elam was Arphaxad, whose region was afterwards called Arpacitis; and his opposite to the west was Aram. Lud took possession of the country called Λυδια, Ludia, and bordered upon Tobal, Meshech, Gomer, Ashkenaz, and other sons of Japhet. For they seem at first to have settled in the regions of Asia Minor. The sons of Chus came at last by a different rout from the east, and invaded the territories of Assur, who was obliged to retreat. He accordingly passed northward into the region of Aram, a part of which he occupied; and to secure himself from his enemy to the south, he built four cities, which are specified by the sacred writer. To shew the disposition of these families in a clearer light, I must refer the reader to the map, which is subjoined.

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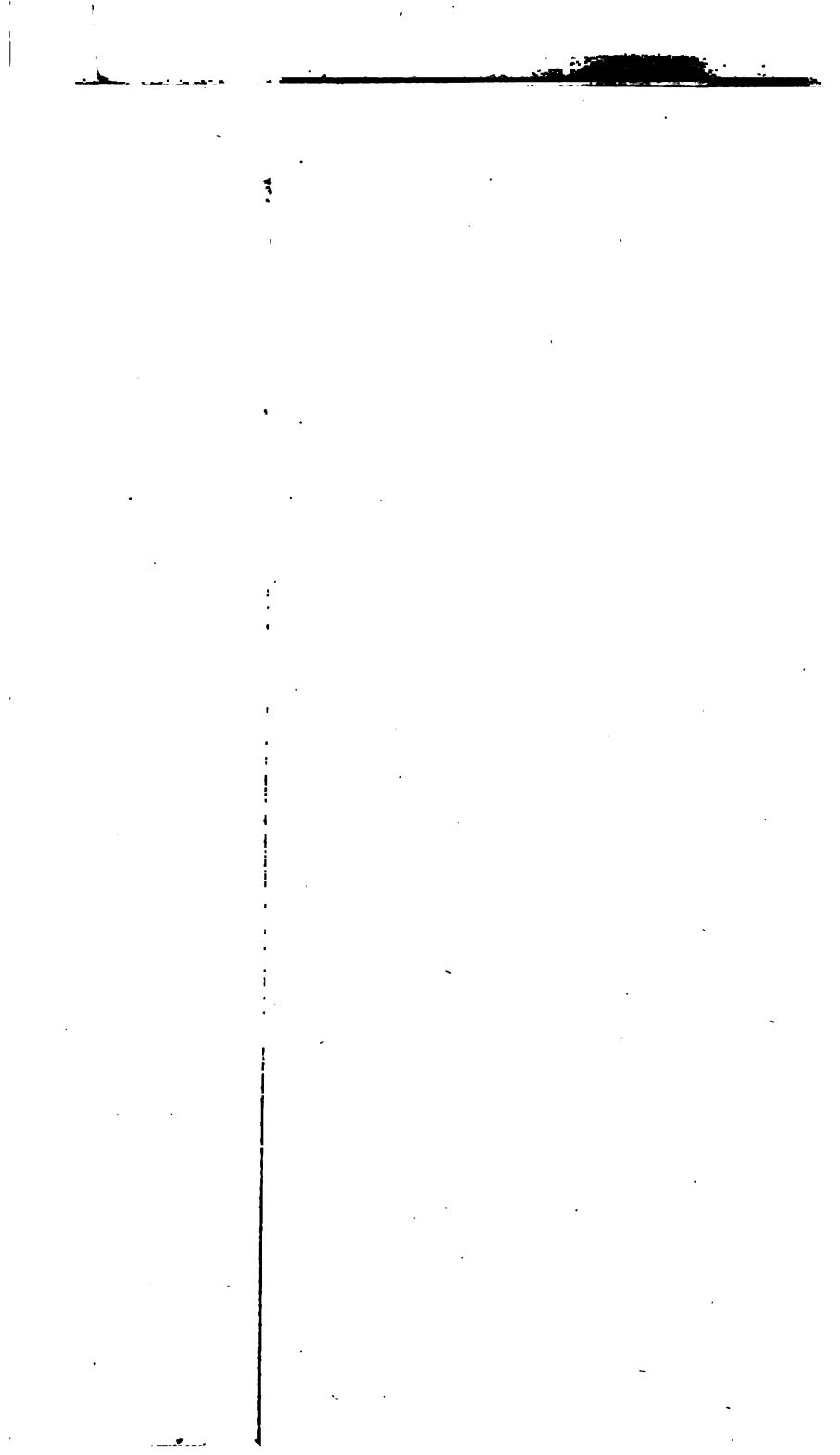
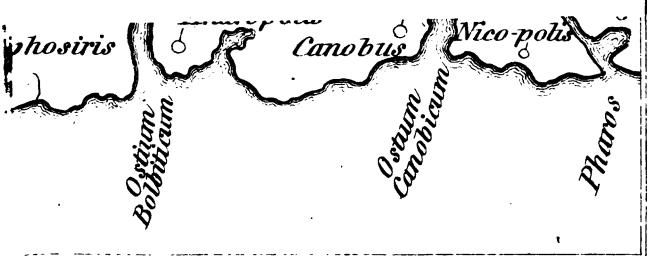
[48] Elam, regio Persidis trans Babylonem. Hieron. Ελυμαι χωρα—της Σασιδος εγγυς. Stephanus. Byzant.




phosiris
Canobus
Nico-polis
Ostium Bolbiticum
Ostium Canobicum
Pharos

OF THE

TITANIAN WAR.

THE first war of the Titans consisted in acts of apostasy, and rebellion against Heaven: but there was another war, in which they were engaged with a different enemy, being opposed by men, and at last totally discomfited, after a long and bitter contention. This event will be found to have happened in consequence of the dispersion. It is a piece of history which has been looked upon as so obscure, and the time of it so remote, that many have esteemed it as merely a poetical fable. Yet, from the light already disclosed, and from farther evidence to be obtained, we may determine many circumstances concerning it, both in respect to the people between whom it was waged, and to the time when it was carried on. I have taken notice of two memo-

rable occurrences, and have endeavoured properly to distinguish them, though they are considered by most writers as one single event;—I mean the migration of families to their several places of allotment, and the dispersion of the Cuthites afterwards. The first is mentioned as effected in the days of Peleg; the other is introduced by the sacred writer afterwards, and spoken of as a different event. The Titanian war is to be distinguished from both, being of still later date, yet not far removed from the dispersion. It has been shewn, that the sons of Chus were engaged in building a mighty city in the region which they had usurped, and in erecting a lofty tower, to prevent their being scattered abroad. They were, however, dispersed; the tower was deserted, and the city left unfinished. These circumstances seem, in great measure, to be recorded by the Gentile writers. They add, that a war soon after commenced between the Titans and the family of Zeuth, which was the first war that ever happened among the sons of men. Some suppose it to have been carried on against Cronus: [1] μετα δε Κρονῳ τε και Τιτηνι ςυςηναι πολεμον.

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[1] Εντι δ' οἱ λεγουσι τους πρωτους εκ γης ανασχοντας, ῥωμῃ τε και μεγεθει χαυνωθεντας, και δη Θεων καταφρονησαντας αμειγονας ειναι, Πυργων Τυρσιν ηλιβατον αειρειν, ἱνα νυν Βαβυλων εςιν· ηδη τε ασσον

But it matters little under what titles the chief characters are represented, for the history is the same. It was no other than the war mentioned by Moses, which was carried on by four kings of the family of Shem against the sons of Ham and Chus, to avenge themselves of those bitter enemies, by whom they had been greatly aggrieved. The dispersion from Babylonia had weakened the Cuthites very much; and the house of Shem took advantage of their dissipation, and recovered the land of Shinar, which had been unduly usurped by their enemies. Babylon seems to have been under a curse, and not occupied, being destitute both of prince and people; in lieu of which we read of a king of Senaar, or Shinar, who joins the confederates, having lately gotten possession of that province. There is a curious fragment of Hestiæus Milesius, which seems to relate to this part of the Titanic history, and supplies what is omitted in the account given by Moses. The passage is in Josephus; who tells us, from several evidences in antient history, that the tower of Babel was overthrown by whirlwinds, and that a confusion of speech ensued.

ειναι τȣ ουρανȣ, και τȣς ανεμους Θεοισι βωθεοντας ανατρεψαι περι αυτοισι το μηχανημα.—μετα δε Κρονῳ και Τιτηνι συςηναι πολεμοι. Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. l. 9. p. 416.

And he adds, that in respect to Senaar, the Shinar of the Scriptures, there was a passage in Hestiæus Milesius, in which it was mentioned; and he subjoins the passage. [2] Των δε Ἱερεων τις διασωθεντας, τα τε Ενυαλιε Διος ἱερωματα λαβοντας, εις Σεναας της Βαβυλωνιας ελθειν. Σκιδνανται δε το λοιπον εντευθεν, ὑπο της ὁμογλωσσιας τας συνοικιας ποιησαμενοι ταναχυ, και γην ἑκαστοι κατελαμβανον την εντυχουσαν. Some have imagined that this history related to the people saved at the deluge; τις διασωθεντας απο τε κατακλυσμε. But this is impossible; for we cannot suppose that the rites of Jupiter Enualius were preserved by Noah, or that the priests of this Deity were in the Ark. Josephus moreover introduces this passage as if Hestiæus had been speaking περι τε πεδιε λεγομενε Σεναας, *about the country called Senaar*. But this too is certainly a mistake, as may be seen from the words of the author. He is not treating about Babylon in the land of Senaar, but of Senaar in the land of Babylonia;

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[2] Οι δε Θεοι ανεμους επιπεμψαντες ανετρεψαν τον Πυργον, και ἰδιαν ἑκαστῳ φωνην εδωκαν· και δια τουτο Βαβυλωνια συνεβη κληθηναι την πολιν. Περι δε τε πεδιε τε λεγομενε Σεναας εν τῃ Βαβυλωνια χωρᾳ μνημονευει Ἑκαταιος λεγων ὑτως· Των δε Ἱερεων τις διασωθεντας τα τε Ενυαλιε Διος ἱερωματα λαβοντας εις Σεναας της Βαβυλωνιας ελθειν. Σκιδνανται δε το λοιπον εντευθεν ὑπο της ὁμογλωσσιας τας συνοικιας ποιησαμενοι ταναχυ, και γην ἑκαστοι κατελαμβανον την εντυχουσαν. Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 416. Euseb. Chron. p. 13.

and of circumstances subsequent to the dispersion. Senaar in Babylonia must have been the city of that name, and not the country. It was the same as the Shinar of Moses, and the Singara of Ptolemy and other writers. Hestiæus had, undoubtedly, been treating of the demolition of the tower at Babel, and of the flight of the priests. To this he subjoined the curious piece of history which has been transmitted to us by Josephus. The purport of it is this: After the ruin of the tower, *the priests, who escaped from that calamity, saved the implements of their idolatry, and whatever related to the worship of their Deity, and brought them,* εις Σενααρ της Βαβυλωνιας, *to the city Senaar, in Babylonia. But they were again driven from hence by a second dispersion; and mankind being as yet all of one* [3] *language,*

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[3] The words are, ὑπο της ὁμογλωσσιας τας συνοικιας ποιησαμενοι: which some may suppose to mean, *that they made their settlements where they found people of the same language.* But the author adds, τας συνοικιας ποιησαμενοι ΠΑΝΤΑΧΟΥ. By πανταχῃ is meant ἐν παντι τοπῳ. *They made their abode in all parts of the world.* They could not therefore be determined to any particular places, for it is plain that they were indeterminately scattered: and to shew that they had no choice, the author adds, και γην ἑκαστοι καταλαμβανον την ευτυχουσαν. The whole world was open before them: *they sojourned in any land that fortune put in their way.* And this was easy, ὑπο της ὁμογλωσσιας, *on account of the uniformity of*

they made their settlements in various parts, laying hold of any spot to dwell in that chance offered. The former flight of the people from Babylon, and particularly of the priests, is the circumstance alluded to by the poet, when he speaks of Lycurgus as driving the Tithenæ, or Nurses, of Bacchus over the plain of Nusa.

[4] Ὃς ποτε μαινομενοιο Διωνυσοιο Τιθηνας
Σευε κατ' ηγαθεον Νυσσηϊον· αἱ δ' ἁμα πασαι
Θυσθλα χαμαι κατεχευαν.

Upon the expulsion of this people from Senaar, it was, that the sons of Shem got possession of that city and region; and after this success they proceeded farther, and attacked the Titanians in all their quarters. Their purpose was, either to drive them away from the countries which they had usurped, or to subdue them totally, and reduce them to a state of vassalage. They accord-

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language, which as yet prevailed. From this antient writer we find, that there was originally one language in the world; and though at Babel there was an impediment in utterance, yet language suffered no alteration for some ages. Bochart alters ἀμογλωσσιας to πολυγλωσσιας; but surely this is too bold a deviation. See Geog. Sac. l. 1. p. 64.

[4] Iliad l. Z. v. 132. He makes them in their fright throw away all their idolatrous implements.

ingly set out with a puissant army, and after a dispute of some time, they made them [5] tributaries. But upon their rising in rebellion, after the space of thirteen years, the confederates made a fresh inroad into their countries, *where they smote the Rephaïms in Ashteroth Karnaïm*, who were no other than the Titans. They are accordingly rendered by the Seventy [6] Τυς Γιγαντας τυς εν Ασταρωθ, *the Giant brood in Astaroth:* and the valley of the Rephaïm, in Samuel, is translated [7] την κοιλαδα των Τιτανων, *the valley of the Titans.* We are also told, by Procopius Gazæus, [8] τυς Γιγαντας, και Τιτανας ωνομαζον, ὡς Ῥαφαειμ Ἑβραιοι φασιν· *that those whom the Hebrews mentioned as Raphaim, were by other people called Giants and Titans.* Those of the confederacy smote also [9] *the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in Shaveh Kiriathaïm.* All these were of the Giant or Titanian race.

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[5] Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer. Gen. c. 14. v. 4.

[6] Ibid. v. 5. The rebellion of their family is alluded to by the prophet Isaiah, who styles them, in the language of the Seventy, Γιγαντες. Συνεγερθησαν σοι παντες οἱ γιγαντες, οἱ αρξαντες της γης. c. 14. v. 9.

[7] 2. Samuel. c. 5. v. 18. They are mentioned by Judith. Ουδε υἱοι Τιτανων επαταξαν αυτον. c. 16. v. 8.

[8] Ad l. 2. Regum. c. 5. Moses Chorenensis speaks of the people here mentioned as the Titans. Cæterum de Titanibus ac Raphæmis meminerunt Sacræ Literæ. l. 1. c. 5. p. 17.

[9] Genes. supra.

Hence Moses, speaking of the land of Moab, says, [10] *The Emims dwelt therein in times past, a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakims: but the Moabites call them Emims, which also were accounted Giants.* He mentions also the [11] Zuzims in the same light. This attack made upon the sons of Ham is taken notice of by Theophilus, who speaks of it as the first war upon [12] earth, and calls it the war of the Giants. Credenus assures us, that there were records in Egypt which confirmed the account given by Moses concerning these personages of so extraordinary stature; and that they particularly flourished about the times of [13] Abraham and Isaac. And he adds, τους ὑπο Ἑλληνων Γιγαντας ονομαζομενους, *that*

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[10] Deuteron. c. 2. v. 10.

[11] Ibid. c. 2. v. 20. *Giants dwelt therein in old time, and the Ammonites called them Zanzummim.* They were the same as the Zuzim.

[12] Ad Autolyc. l. 2. p. 372: αὑτη αρχη εγενετο πρωτη του γινεσθαι πολεμους επι της γης, και κατεκοψαν τους Γιγαντας, εν Καραναϊμ, και εθνη ισχυρα ἁμα αυτοις, κλ.

[13] Ὁτι εν τοις χρονοις Αβρααμ και Ισαακ πολυσωματους ανθρωπους Αιγυπτιοι ἱςορουσι γενεσθαι, τους ὑπο Ἑλληνων Γιγαντας ονομαζομενους. p. 34. Artapanus mentions Abraham αναφεροντα εις τους Γιγαντας. Euseb. P. E. l. 9. p. 420. Josephus also mentions, that this engagement of the four kings was, with some of the Titanic or Gigantic race, whom they defeated. Και κατεκοψαν τους απογονους των Γιγαντων. Antiq. l. c. 9. p. 31.

these were the people whom the Grecians called Giants.

The most full account of the Titans and their defeat, is to be found in some of the Sibylline poetry. The Sibyls were Amonian priestesses; and were possessed of antient memorials, which had been for a long time deposited in the temples where they presided. A great part of those compositions, which go under their name, is not worth being mentioned. But there are some things curious: and among these is part of an historical poem, to which I allude. It is undoubtedly a translation of an antient record, found by some Grecian in an Egyptian temple: and though the whole is not uniform, nor perhaps by the same hand, yet we may see in it some fragments of very curious history.

[14] Αλλ' ὁποταν μεγαλοιο Θεε τελεωνται απειλαι,
Ας ποτ' επηπειλησε βροτοις, οι Πυργον ετευξαν
Χωρῃ εν Ασσυριῃ, ὁμοφωνοι δ' ησαν απαντες,
Και βαλουτ' αναβην εις Ουρανον αστεροεντα,
Αυτικα δ' Αθανατος μεγαλην επεθηκεν αναγκην.
Πνευμασιν· Αυτάρ επειτ' ανεμοι μεγαν ὑψοθι πυργον
Ριψαν, και θνητοισιν επ' αλληλοις εριν ωρσαν·
Τεινεκα τοι Βαβυλωνα βροτοι πολει ονομ' εθεντο.

[14] Sib. Orac. l. 3. p. 223. Theoph. ad Autolyc. l. 2. p. 371.

Αυταρ επει πυργος τ' επεσι, γλωσσαιτ' ανθρωπων
Εις πολλας θνητων εμερισθησαν διαλεκτους,
Παντοδαπαις φωναισι διεςρεφον, αυταρ ἁπασα
Γαια βροτων πλήρουτο μεριζομενων βασιληων·
Και τοτε δη δεκατη γενεη Μεροπων ανθρωπων,
Εξ οὗπερ κατακλυσμος επι προτερους γενετ' ανδρας,
Και βασιλευσε Κρονος, και Τιταν, Ιαπετος τε,
Γαιης τεκνα φεριςα και Ουρανου, εξεκαλεσσαν
Ανθρωποι, γαιης τε και [15] Ουρανου ουνομα θεντες,
Ὁυνεκα οἱ προφεριςοι εσαν μεροπων ανθρωπων.
Τρισσαι δη μεριδες γαιης κατα κληρον ἑκαςου,
Και βασιλευσεν ἑκαςος εχων μερος, ουδε μαχοντο·
Ὁρκοι γαρ τ' εγενοντο πατρος, μεριδες τε δικαιαι.
Τηνικα δη πατρος τελεος χρονος ἱκετο γηρως,
Και ῥ' εθανεν· και παιδες ὑπερβασιην ὁρκοισι
Δεινην ποιησαντες, επ' αλληλους εριν ωρσαν,
Ὁς παντεσσι βροτοισιν εχων βασιληϊδα τιμην
Αρξει. Και μαχεσαντο Κρονος Τιταν τε προς αυτους.

. . . . . .

Αυτη δ' ες' αρχη πολεμου παντεσσι βροτοισι·
Πρωτη γαρ τε βροτοις αυτη πολεμοιο καταρχη·
Και τοτε Τιτανεσσι Θεος κακον εγγυαλιξε.

But when the judgments of the almighty God

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[15] Scilicet Γηγενεις, Ουρανιωνας, Ἡλιαδας.

Τουτῳ δε β.φ.δ. τει Νω ε διεθετο, και την οικουμενην τοις τρισιν αυτου υιοις διεμερισε. Syncellus. p. 80.

Were ripe for execution; when the Tower
Rose to the skies upon Assyria's plain,
And all mankind one language only knew:
A dread commission from on high was given
To the fell whirlwinds, which with dire alarm
Beat on the Tower, and to its lowest base
Shook it convuls'd. And now all intercourse,
By some occult, and over-ruling power,
Ceas'd among men; by utterance they strove
Perplex'd and anxious to disclose their mind;
But their lip fail'd them; and in lieu of words
Produc'd a painful babbling sound: the place
Was hence call'd Babel; by th' apostate crew
Nam'd from th' event. Then sever'd far away
They sped uncertain into realms unknown:
Thus kingdoms rose; and the glad world was fill'd.
'Twas the tenth age successive, since the flood
Ruin'd the former world: when foremost far
Amid the tribes of their descendants stood
Cronus, and [16] Titan, and Iäpetus,

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[16] From a common notion, that Iäpetus was Japhet, this name is assigned to one of the three brothers: and the two others are distinguished by the names of Cronus, and Titan. But they are all three indeterminate titles. Iäpetus was a Titanian; and is mentioned as such by Diodorus. l. 5. p. 334. He was one of

Offspring of Heaven, and Earth: hence in return
For their superior excellence they shar'd
High titles, taken both from Earth and Heaven,
For they were surely far supreme; and each
Rul'd o'er his portion of the vassal world,
Into three parts divided; for the earth
Into three parts had been by Heaven's decree
Sever'd; and each his portion held by lot.
No feuds as yet, no deadly fray arose:
For the good sire with providential care
Had bound them by an [17] oath; and each well knew
That all was done in equity, and truth.
But soon the man of justice left the world,
Matur'd by time, and full of years. He died:

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the brood, which was banished to Tartarus, and condemned to darkness;

ἵν' Ιαπετος τε Κρονος τε
Ἡμενοι ουτ' αυγης Ὑπεριονος Ηελιοιο
Τερποντ', ουτ' ανεμοισι· βαθυς δε τε Ταρταρος αμφις.

Homer. Iliad. Θ. v. 478. He is also mentioned as an earth-born Giant; one of the prime apostates.

Tum partu Terra nefando
Cœumque, Iäpetumque creat, sævumque Typhœa,
Et conjuratos cœlum rescindere fratres.

Virgil. Georg. l. 1. v. 279.

The history of Iäpetus has no relation to Japhet. Ιαπετος εἰς των Τιτανων. Schol. in Homer. supra. *Iäpetus was one of the Giants.*

[17] See Eusebii Chron. p. 10. l. 38.

And his three sons, the barrier now remov'd,
Rise in defiance of all human ties,
Nor heed their plighted faith. To arms they fly,
Eager and fierce: and now their bands complete,
Cronus and Titan join in horrid fray;
Rule the great object, and the world the prize.
This was the first sad overture to blood;
When war disclos'd its horrid front; and men
Inur'd their hands to slaughter. From that hour
The Gods wrought evil to the Titan race;
They never prospered.

This Sibylline history is of consequence. It has been borrowed by some Hellenistic Jew, or Gnostic, and inserted amid a deal of trash of his own composing. The superior antiquity of that part, which I have laid before the reader, is plain, from its being mentioned by [18] Josephus. Some lines are likewise quoted by [19] Athenagoras, and [20] Theophilus Antiochenus. But there are passages afterwards which relate to circumstances of late

[18] Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

[19] Athenag. Leg. p. 307. μεμνηται δε αυτης (Σιβυλλης) και Πλατων.

[20] Ad Antol. l. 2. p. 371.

date; such as were in time much inferior to the age of Athenagoras; and still farther removed from the æra of Josephus. Upon this account I pay a greater deference to these verses than I do to those which are subsequent; for these contain a very interesting history, and are tolerably precise, if we consider the remoteness of the times spoken of. We have here an accurate account of the confusion of speech, and demolition of the tower of Babel, and of the Titanian war, which ensued. And we are moreover told, that the war commenced in the tenth generation after the deluge; and that it lasted ten years; and that it was the first war in which mankind were engaged. The author, whoever he may have been, seems to allude to two quarrels. The one was with the head of the family, and proceeded from a jealousy and fear lest he should have any more children; as that would be a detriment in possession to those whom he already [20] had. Something of this nature runs through the whole of the Pagan mythology. The other quarrel was upon a similar account. It began through ambition, and a desire of rule among the Titans; and terminated in their ruin. Abydenus, conformably to the account given above, mentions, that soon after the demo-

[20] See Sibylline Verses. l. 3. p. 227.

lition of the tower commenced the [21] war between Cronus and Titan; and that it was carried on by people of uncommon strength and stature. Eupolemus also, whom I have before quoted, calls them [22] Giants; and says, that they were scattered over the face of the earth. Upon this dispersion Babylonia was quite evacuated, and the city left unfinished. Some of the fugitives betook themselves to Shinar, a city which lay between Nineve and Babylon, to the north of the region, which they had quitted. Others came into Syria, and into the Arabian provinces, which bordered upon Canaan. Those who fled to Shinar, the Senaar of Hestiæus Milesius, resided there some time. But being in the vicinity of Elam, and Nineve, they raised the jealousy of the sons of Ashur, and of the Elamites, who formed a confederacy against them; and, after a dispute of some time, drove them from that neighbourhood. And, not contented with this, they prosecuted their vengeance still farther, and invaded all those of the line of Ham westward;

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[21] Ἡδη δε ασσον ειναι τυ Ουρανυ (την Τυηειν), και τυς ανεμυς αιατριψαι—μετα δε Κρονυ τι και Τιτηνι συςηναι πολεμον. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 19. c. 14. p. 416. Syncel. p. 44. Ζευς περι τυς αρχης προς Τιτανας επολεμησε. Athenag. Legatio. p. 325.

[22] Ειναι δε αυτυς Γιγαντας. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 17. p. 418.

and made them tributaries as far as the confines of Egypt. The sacred writings take notice of the conclusion of the war, which ended almost in the extirpation of some families in these parts; especially of those which were properly Titanian. And that this was the same war which happened in the time of Abraham, is manifest from its being in the tenth generation from the deluge: for Abraham was tenth in descent from Noah; and consequently from the deluge. Cedrenus is very particular in his account of these times. He says, that in the days of Abraham, [23] τους παιδας τε Ουρανε ακμασαι: *the sons of Cœlus flourished.* And having before spoken of the Patriarch's retiring upon account of a famine into Egypt, he adds, [24] γινεται δε και ὁ Τιτανων προς τον Δια πολεμος: *about this time was the war of the Titans against Jupiter.* Theophilus also gives an account of this war from the historian Phallus. [25] Και γαρ Βηλε του Ασσυριων βασιλευσαντος, και Κρονε, και Τιτανος, Φαλλος μεμνηται, φασκων, τον Βηλον πεπολεμηκεναι συν τοις Τιτασι προς τον Δια, και τους συν αυτω Θεους λεγομενους. Ενθα φησι, και ὁ Γυγης ηττηθεις εφυγεν εις Ταρτησσον. *Phallus takes notice of*

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[23] P. 29.

[24] Ibid.

[25] L. 3. p. 399. He makes the Titans war against the Gods; but they were properly the persons esteemed immortal. He also makes Belus an Assyrian, instead of a Babylonian.

the Assyrian monarch Belus; likewise of Cronus and Titan: and he says, that Belus and the Titans made war upon Jupiter and the Gods; and that Gyges being worsted in battle fled from those parts to Tartessus. Instead of Cronus, he mentions Jupiter, as the person engaged on the opposite side; but it is of little consequence by what title the leaders be called, for the history of the war is very plain. In Moses we read only of the conclusion; but the Gentile writers give a detail of the whole procedure from the beginning of the quarrel. We accordingly find, that there were three brothers, and three families, one of which was the Titanian: that they had early great jealousies; which their father, a just man, foresaw would, if not prevented, become fatal. He therefore appointed to each a particular portion in the earth, and made them swear that they would not invade each others right. This kept them during his lifetime in order: but after his demise the Titans commenced hostilities, and entered into an association against the family of Shem. When they first formed themselves into this confederacy they are said to have raised an [26] altar; and upon

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[26] Τουτο ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ πρωτον οἱ Θεοι την συνωμοσιαν ἐθεντο, ὁτε επι Κρονον ὁ Ζευς ἐστρατευσεν. Eratosth. Aster. Θυσιαστηριον. p. 14.

Hyginus supposes that the Gods swore upon this altar when they were going to oppose the Titans; and he says that it was

this they swore never to abandon the league, nor to give up their pretensions. This altar was the work of the Cyclopians, a people who seem to have been wonderfully ingenious: and it is thought that the Chaldeans, in memorial of this transaction, inserted an altar in their antient [27] sphere.

From the sacred historian we may infer, that there were two periods of this war: the first, when the king of Elam and his associates laid the Rephaïm, Emim, Horites, and Amalekites, under contribution: the other, when upon their rebellion they reduced them a second time to obedience. The first part is mentioned by several antient writers; and is said to have lasted ten years.

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the work of the Cyclopians. But the Cyclopians were Titanians; and the altar was for the use of their brotherhood, who were called Τιτηνες θεοι.

Τιτηνες τε θεοι—των εξ ανδρες τε θεοι τε.

Homer. Hymn. in Apol. v. 335.

Juno, in Homer, swears by the Titans as the original Deities.

Θεους δ' ονομηνεν απαντας

Τους υποταρταριους, οι Τιτηνες καλεονται. Iliad. Ξ. v. 279.

In this we have a short, but true, history of dæmon-worship, and its origin.

[27] Εθηκαν και αυτο εν τω Ουρανω εις μνημοσυνον. Eratosthenes supra. Some however think, that it was placed there upon another account; in memorial of the first altar that was raised after the flood.

Hesiod takes notice of both, but makes the first rather of longer duration.

[28] Συνεχεως εμαχοντο δεκα πλειας ενιαυτας.

Ten years and more they sternly strove in arms.

He in another place speaks of it as a very long and stubborn affair.

[29] Δηρον γαρ μαρναντο, πονον θυμαλγε' εχοντες,
Τιτηνες τε θεοι, και οσοι Κρονυ εξεγενοντο.

Year after year in cruel conflict strove
The Titan Gods, and those of Cronus' line.

In the second engagement the poet informs us, that the Titans were quite discomfited, and ruined: and according to the mythology of the Greeks, they were condemned to reside in Tartarus, at the extremities of the known world. According to the Mosaïc account, it happened fourteen years after the conclusion of the first

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[28] Theog. v. 636.

[29] V. 629. Μαχομενων δε αυτων ενιαυτους δεκα ἡ Γη τω Διι εχρησε την νικην. Apollodorus. l. 1. p. 4.

war. [30] *Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer: and in the thirteenth they rebelled. And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him; and smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaïm, and the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in Shaveh Kiriathaim: and the Horites in their mount Seir unto El Paran, which is by the wilderness. And they returned and came to En-Mishpat, which is in Kadesh, and smote all the country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites, that dwelt in Hazezon Tamar. And there came out the king of Sodom, and the king of Gomorrah,* &c. Josephus, and later writers, do not consider the purport of the scripture account, nor the extent of this war: but speak of it as carried on chiefly, if not solely, with the petty kings of the Asphaltite vale. They bore an inconsiderable part in this grand [31] affair: and were taken in after a sweep of many, and far more powerful, nations. The former war, when the power of the Titans was first broken, seems to have been a memorable æra with the Cuthites and their descendants, though overlooked by other people.

The kings, who composed the confederacy against the Titans, were the king of Elam, the

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[30] Genesis. c. 14. v. 4, 5, 6.

[31] See Observations and Inquiries. vol. vi. p. 203.

king of Elasur, the king of Shinar, and a fourth, styled king of nations. It was a family association against a common enemy, whence we may form a judgment concerning the princes of whom it was composed. Of the king of Shinar we know little: only we may be assured, that he was of the line of Shem; who had recovered the city, over which he ruled, from the Titanians. And we may farther presume, that Tidal king of Nations was no other than the king of Aram. In like manner we may infer, that Arioch Melach Elasur, אלסר, however expressed, was the king of Nineve, called of old, and at this day, [32] Asur and Assur. In the antient records concerning this war, it is probable, that each nation made itself the principal, and took the chief part of the glory to itself. For the conquests of Ninus (by which word is signified merely the Ninevite) consisted in great measure of these achievements: the whole honour of which the Ninevites and Assyrians appropriated to [33] themselves. The real principal in the war was the king of Elam; as we learn from the Scriptures: and another material truth may be

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[32] Benjamin Tudelensis. p. 61.

[33] Zonaras speaks of the war as being carried on by the Assyrians. p. 22.

obtained from the account given by Moses; that notwithstanding the boasted conquests of the Assyrians, and the famed empire of Ninus and Semiramis, the province of Assur was a very limited district; and the kingdom of Elam was superior both to that of Nineve, and Babylonia. The king of nations I have supposed to have been the king of Aram: and the nature of the confederacy warrants the supposition. But there are evidences, which shew, that he was no other than the prince of that country: and it was called the region of nations, because all Syria, and the country upon the Euphrates consisted of mixed people; which was observable quite down to Galilee in Canaan. Moses Chorenensis wrote the history of Armenia; and he tells us, that when Ninus reigned in [34] Assyria, there was a war carried on against the [35] Titans of Babylonia, whom he styles the Immortals: and that the king of Aram had the conduct of that war. It is well known, that these kings, after they had defeated those in the vale of Siddim, carried off many prisoners. Among these was Lot, who was afterwards in a wonderful manner rescued by his bro-

[34] Moses Chorenens. l. 1. c. 10. p. 27.

[35] Bellum Titanium cum Gigantibus—immortalibus ac procerissimis. Ibid. Agmen Titanium. Ibid.

ther Abraham. This history is mentioned by Eupolemus; who says, that they were the people of Aram, who had taken him prisoner: and that they had been making war upon the people of Canaan, whom he styles Phenicians. He adds, that upon the news of Lot being a prisoner, Abraham with his armed household alone defeated the enemy, and regained his [36] brother. Diodorus Siculus has a passage very much to the present purpose. He tells us, *that* [37] *Ninus, or the Ninevite, with the assistance of another prince, made war upon his neighbours the Babylonians.* He proceeds afterwards to say, that *this formidable expedition was not against the city of Babylon; for that was not then in being: but against other respectable cities of the country. In this war he with much ease subdued his enemies, and obliged them to pay an annual tribute.* How very consonant this history is to the account given by Moses? The author says, *that the city Babylon,*

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[36] Ὕστερον δὲ Ἀρμενιους στρατευσαι τοις Φοινιξι· Νικησαντων δὲ και αιχμαλωτισαμενων τον ἀδελφιδουν αυτου (Ἀβρααμ), τον Ἀβρααμ μετα οικιτων βοηθησαντα ἐγκρατη γενεσθαι των αιχμαλωτισαμενων, κ. τ. λ. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 418.

[37] Κατ' ἐκεινους δὲ τους χρονους ἡ μεν νυν ουσα Βαβυλων ουκ ἠν κτισμενη· κατα δὲ την Βαβυλωνιαν ὑπηρχον ἀλλαι πολεις ἀξιολογοι· ῥαδιως δὲ χειρωσαμενος τους ἐγχωριους—τουτοις μεν ταξιν τινα κατ' ἐνιαυτον ὡρισμενους φορους. Diodor. l. 2. p. 90.

which in aftertimes made such a figure, *was not now in being.* It is very truly said: for the city Babel had been begun; but was at that time deserted, and left unfinished. [38] *They left off to build the city.* It seems to have been under a curse: and we hear nothing more of it for ages. Not a word occurs about Babylon or Babylonia, till the time of Berodach Baladan, and of Nebuchadnezzar, who came after him, when this city was rebuilt. And from the extent of it, when completed, we may form some judgment of the original design. [39] *The king* (Nebuchadnezzar) *spake and said: is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of my kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?* Abydenus informs us from Megasthenes, [40] *that Babylon was first walled round by Belus; but in time the wall was ruined. At last Nebuchodonosor built it anew; and it remained with gates of brass to the time of the Macedonian empire.*

In the passage taken above, from Diodorus

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[38] Genesis. c. 11. v. 8.

[39] Daniel. c. 4. v. 30.

[40] Βηλον Βαβυλωνα τειχει περιβαλειν· την χρονῳ δε ικπυρωσιν αφανισθηναι· τειχισαι δε αυθις Ναβυχοδονοσορον, κ.τ.λ. Apud Abydenum in Eusebio. Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 459.

Siculus, mention is also made of some service imposed upon the conquered nations, which is conformable to the account given by Moses. [41] *Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer;* which service undoubtedly consisted in a certain tribute, as Diodorus rightly informs us. There are two circumstances in which this author, as the text now stands, does not accord with the original history. He mentions first, that the king of Assur was in league with the king of Arabia; and in the next place, that after the subduing of the Babylonians, he attacked the Armenians. In respect to Arabia, there was probably no country in that age so called; nor could it be the king of Arabia with whom he was in alliance, no more than it was the Armenian with whom he was at war. These two names, Arabia and Aramia, are very similar, and have therefore been confounded; and the history by these means has been rendered obscure. The prince with whom the king of Nineve had entered into an alliance was not the king of Arabia, but Aramia. He was a branch of the same family as Melech Al Asur, the king of Nineve, and his country was styled Aram. [42] Τȣς γαρ ὑφ' ἡμων Συρȣς καλȣμενȣς ὑπ' αυτων των

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[41] Genesis. c. 14. v. 4. See Diodorus above, εταξε τελειν φορȣς.

[42] L. 1. p. 71.

Συρων Αρμενιες, και Αραμμαιες καλεισθαι. *Those,* says Strabo, *whom we Grecians name Syrians, are, by the Syrians themselves, called Armenians and Aramæans.* On the other hand, the people, whom Diodorus by mistake styles Armenians, were the same that in aftertimes were called Arabians. The countries of the Rephaim, the Zuzim, the Amalekites, and the [43] Horites, lay in Arabia Petræa; and these were the people upon whom this inroad was made. It lay nearest to Babylonia, though separated by a desert. It was accordingly invaded by the confederates, after they had made themselves masters of Singara. We should therefore for Arabia, in the first instance, replace [44] Aramia; and for the Aramians, in the

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[43] The Horites were Hivites of the race of Ham. Zibeon, Seir's son, is so styled. Gen. c. 36. v. 2.

Αρταπανος δε φησιν εν τοις Ιουδαϊκοις—εν δε αδεσποτοις ευρομεν τον Αβρααμ αναφεροντα εις τους Γιγαντας· τουτους δε οικουντας εν τη Βαβυλωνια δια την ασεβειαν υπο των Θεων αναιρεθηναι, ων ενα Βηλον, κ.τ.λ. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 420.

[44] Arabia has more than once been put for Aramia, or rather for Armenia. A mistake of this sort is to be found in Theophilus. Every body knows that the ark of Noah is said to have rested upon Mount Ararat, in Armenia. But this writer makes it rest upon the mountains of Arabia; and says, that the remains of it were to be seen in his time. Ης κιβωτου τα λειψανα μεχρι του δευρο δεικνυται ειναι εν τοις Αραβικοις ορεσι; for Αραμικοις ορεσι, *the mountains of Aram.* Ad Autol. l. 3. p. 391.

latter part, read Arabians. This small change makes the whole perfectly agreeable to the truth. It corresponds with the account given by the Armenian writer above; and a wonderful attestation is hereby afforded to the history of Moses.

Thus have I given an account of the antient Titans, or worshippers of fire, who were engaged in building the tower called Babel, and the city of the same name. They seem to have been a very numerous body, who had attached themselves to the spot, and were determined never to leave it. But they were wonderfully dissipated, and fled to different parts. Some of the remoter clans seem not to have been involved in the first calamity; whom, however, vengeance pursued: for the family of Shem boldly attacked these formidable tribes, which for courage and stature had been deemed invincible. They carried it with a high hand, and seem to have reduced many nations to a state of obedience, from the Euphrates downwards to the entrance of Egypt. From thence they turned, and passing upwards by the west of Jordan, they took in all those nations which had before escaped them. From the service imposed, and from the extent of the conquests, we may perceive that the king of Elam and his associates entertained the same views which had been condemned in their adversaries. They were laying the foundation of a large em-

pire, of which the supremacy would most probably have centered in the kings of Elam. But the whole scheme was providentially ruined by the Patriarch Abraham. He gave them an utter defeat, and afterwards pursued them from Dan quite up to [45] Hobah and Damascus.

These are the events which the most early writers, Linus, Olen, [46] Thamyras, and Thymœtes, are said to have commemorated under the titles of the flight of Bacchus, in which were included the wars of the Giants, and the sufferings of the Gods. [47] Τα περι της Τιτανομαχιας, και το συνολον την περι τα παθη των Θεων ἱστοριαν. I have before mentioned, from Hyginus, an account of Phoroneus, the first king upon earth, wherein is contained an epitome of the Noachic history, and where there are also some allusions to the dispersion, and to this war. [48] Inachus, Oceani filius, ex Archiâ

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[45] Genesis. c. 14. v. 15.

[46] Πεποιηκεναι δε τουτον (Θαμυριν) ἱστορειται τον Τιτανων προς τους Θεους πολεμον. Plutarch. de Musicâ.

Τιτανων γενος, και Κυκλωπων, και Γιγαντων Πληθυν,—ὑν μεμνηται Απολλωνιδης, ὁ και Ωραπιος επικληθεις, εν βιβλῳ τῃ επιγραφομενῃ Σεμεναθι. Theoph. ad Autolyc. l. 2. p. 352.

[47] Diodorus. l. 1. p. 87.

Πλανας, και διαμελισμους, και πολλα τοιαυτα παθηματα. Plutarch. Isis et Osir. p. 355.

[48] Fab. 143.

sorore suâ procreavit Phoroneum, qui primus mortalium dicitur regnâsse. Homines ante secula multa sine oppidis legibusque vitam exegerunt, unâ linguâ loquentes sub Jovis imperio. Sed postquam Mercurius sermones hominum [49] interpretatus est, unde Hermeneutes dicitur interpres ——Idem nationes distribuit: tum discordia inter homines esse cœpit. *Inachus, whose father was Oceanus, had by his sister Archia a son named Phoroneus, who was the first king upon earth. Before his reign people had but one language; and lived for many ages under the direction of Jupiter, without any cities being founded, or any laws promulged. But after that Hermes had diversified the language of man, from whence Hermeneutes came to signify an interpreter, he proceeded, and divided them into nations. Upon this there immediately commenced feuds and commotions.* It is a short account, but contains much interesting matter; and we learn from it, that immediately after the dispersion the first war ensued.

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[49] Interpretatus est. It is difficult to arrive at the author's precise meaning.

OF THE

ORIGINAL CHALDAIC HISTORY,

AS TRANSMITTED BY

ABYDENUS, APOLLODORUS,

AND

ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR,

FROM

BEROSUS OF BABYLONIA.

I CANNOT proceed without taking notice of some extracts of Babylonish history, which time has happily spared us. From what has been already said it is evident that the history of nations must commence from the æra of Babylon, as here the first kingdom was founded; and here was the great scene of action among the first born of the sons of men. The history therefore of the Babylonians and Chaldeans should be the first in order to be considered. Not that I purpose to engage in a full account of this people, but intend only to consider those extracts of which I have made mention above. The me-

morials are very curious, but have been greatly mistaken and misapplied. The person to whom we are beholden for them was Berosus, a priest of Belus. He was a native of Babylonia, and lived in the time of Alexander, the son of Philip. The Grecians held him in great esteem; and he is particularly quoted by the oriental fathers, as well as by Josephus of Judea. He treated, it seems, of the origin of things, and of the formation of the earth out of chaos. He afterwards speaks of the flood, and of all mankind being destroyed, except one family, which was providentially preserved. By these was the world renewed. There is a large extract from this author, taken from the Greek of Alexander Polyhistor, and transmitted to us by Eusebius, which contains an account of these first occurrences in the world. But it seems to be taken by a person who was not well acquainted with the language in which it was supposed to be written; and has made an irregular and partial extract, rather than a genuine translation. And as Berosus lived at a time, when Babylon had been repeatedly conquered; and the inhabitants had received a mixture of many different nations: there is reason to think that the original records, of whatever nature they may have been, were much impaired; and that the natives in the time of Berosus did not perfectly understand them. I will soon present the

reader with a transcript from Polyhistor of this valuable fragment, in which he will perceive many curious traces of original truth; but at the same time will find it mixed with fable, and obscured with allegory. It has likewise suffered greatly by interpreters; and there are some mistakes in the disposition of the transcript, of which I shall hereafter take notice, and which could not be in the original.

Other authors, as well as Alexander Polyhistor, have copied from Berosus: among these is Abydenus. I will therefore begin with his account, as it is placed first in Eusebius; the tenor of it is in this manner.

" [1] So much concerning the wisdom of the " Chaldeans. It is said that the first king of " this country was Alorus, who gave out a re- " port that he was appointed by God to be the " shepherd of his people. He reigned ten sari. " Now a sarus is esteemed to be three thousand " six hundred years; a nereus is reckoned six " hundred; and a sosus sixty. After him Ala- " parus reigned three sari: to him succeeded " Amillarus from the city of [2] Pantibiblus, who

[1] Eusebii Chronicon. p. 5.

[2] Sometimes Pantibiblus, at other times Pantibiblon occurs for the name of the place. See Syncellus. p. 38.

" reigned thirteen sari. In his time a semidæmon " called Annedotus, in appearanee very like to " Oannes, shewed himself a second time from " the sea. After him Amenon reigned twelve " sari, who was of the city Pantibiblon. Then " Megalanus, of the same [3] place, eighteen sari. " Then Daus, the shepherd, governed for the " space of ten sari; he was of Pantibiblon. In " his time four double-shaped personages came " out of the sea to land, whose names were " Euedocus, Eneugamus, Enaboulus, and Ane- " mentus. After Daus succeeded Anodaphus, the " son of Aedoreschus. There were afterwards " other kings; and last of all Sisuthrus: so that, " in the whole, the number of kings amounted to " ten, and the term of their reigns to an hundred " and twenty sari." This last was the person who was warned to provide against the deluge. He accordingly built a vessel, by which means he was preserved. The history of this great event, together with the account of birds sent out by Sisouthros, in order to know if the waters were quite abated, and of their returning with their feet soiled with mud, and of the ark's finally

[3] It is in the original Pansibiblon: but the true name was Pantibiblon; as may be seen by comparing this account with that of Apollodorus, which succeeds; and with the same in Syncellus.

resting in Armenia, is circumstantially related by [4] Abydenus, but borrowed from Berosus.

A similar account of the first kings of Babylonia is given by Apollodorus, and is taken from the same author, who begins thus: "This is the "history which Berosus has transmitted to us. "He tells us that Alorus of Babylon was the first "king that reigned, who was by nation a Chal- "dean. He reigned ten sari: and after him "Alaparus, and then Amelon, who came from "Pantibiblon. To him succeeded Amenon of "Chaldea, in whose time they say that the "Musarus Oannes, the Annedotus, made his ap- "pearance from the Eruthrean sea." [5] So we are told by Alexander (Polyhistor), who first took this history in hand; and mentions, that this personage shewed himself in the first year; but Apollodorus says that it was after forty [6] sari.

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[4] Syncellus. p. 38. He styles him Abydenus; but by Eusebius the name is expressed Abidenus.

[5] Eusebii Chronicon. p. 5.

So we are told. These are the words of Eusebius; so that there is no regular translation.

Προλαβων, who forestalls the event, and makes the appearance of this personage to have been in the first year.

The account of Oannes is in Alexander Polyhistor, as taken from the first book of Berosus; but not a word is there of his appearing in the reign of Amenon.

[6] From what fixed term do they reckon? to what year do they refer? and whose are these reflexions?

Abydenus, differing from both, makes the second Annedotus appear after twenty-six sari. "After "this last king Megalarus succeeded, of the city "Pantibiblon, and reigned eighteen sari: then "Daon, the shepherd, of the same city, ten sari. "In his time it is said that Annedotus appeared "again from the Eruthrean sea, in the same "form as those who had shewed themselves be- "fore, having the shape of a fish blended with "that of a man. Then reigned Aedorachus of "Pantibiblon, for the term of eighteen sari. In "his days there appeared another personage from "the sea Eruthra, like those above, having the "same complicated form between a fish and a "man; his name was Odacon." All these personages, according to Apollodorus, related very particularly and circumstantially whatever Oannes had informed them. Concerning these Abydenus has made no mention. "After the kings "above succeeded Amempsinus, a Chaldean, "from the city Larach, and reigned eighteen "sari. In his time was the great deluge." According to the sum of years above, the total of all the reigns was an hundred and twenty sari.

There seems to be some omission in the transcript given by Eusebius from Apollodorus, which is supplied by Syncellus. He mentions "Amempsinus as eighth king in order, who "reigned ten sari. After him comes Otiartes,

" of [7] Laranchæ in Chaldea, to whom he allows " eight sari. His son was [8] Xisuthros, who " reigned eighteen sari; and in whose time was " the well-known deluge. So that the sum of all " the kings is ten; and of the term, which they " collectively reigned, an hundred and twenty " sari."

Both these writers are supposed to copy from Berosus, yet there appears a manifest difference between them; and this not in respect to numbers only, which are easily corrupted, but in regard to events and disposition of circumstances. Of this strange variation in two short fragments I shall hereafter take further notice.

I come now to the chief extract from Berosus; as it has been transmitted to us by [9] Eusebius, who copied it from Alexander Polyhistor. It is likewise to be found in [10] Syncellus. It begins in this wise.

" Berosus, in his first book concerning the " history of Babylonia, informs us that he lived " in the time of Alexander the son of Philip. " And he mentions that there were written ac- " counts preserved at Babylon with the greatest

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[7] Laracha, the Larachon of Eusebius.

[8] The name is expressed Xisuthrus, Sisusthrus, and Sithithrus.

[9] Eusebii Chronicon. p. 5.

[10] Syncelli Chronograph. p. 28.

" care, comprehending a term of fifteen myriads " of years. These writings contained a history of " the heavens and the sea; of the birth of man- " kind; also of those who had sovereign rule; " and of the actions achieved by them. And in " the first place he describes Babylonia as a " [11] country which lay been the Tigris and " Euphrates. He mentions that it abounded " with [12] wheat, barley, ocrus, sesamum; and in " the lakes were found the roots called gongæ, " which were good to be eaten, and were in " respect to nutriment like barley. There were " also palm trees and apples, and most kinds " of fruits; fish too and birds; both those " which are merely of flight, and those which " take to the element of water. The part of " Babylonia, which bordered upon Arabia, was " barren, and without water; but that which lay " on the other side, had hills and was [13] fruitful. " At Babylon there was [14] in these times a great " resort of people of various nations, who in- " habited Chaldea, and lived without rule and

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[11] It is necessary to observe the arrangement of this history of Berosus; as much depends upon the disposition of these articles.

[12] Πυρος αγριος, wild wheat.

[13] Euseb. αφορα: Syncell. ευφορα.

[14] I add, *in these times*, for he means the first ages.

" order like the beast of the field. [15] In the first " year there made its appearance from a part of " the Eruthrean sea, which bordered upon Baby- " lonia, an animal [16] endowed with reason, who " was called Oannes. According to the accounts " of [17] Apollodorus the whole body of the animal " was like that of a fish; and had under a fish's " head another head, and also feet below, similar " to those of a man, subjoined to the fish's tail. " His voice too, and language was articulate and " human; and there was a representation of him " to be seen in the time of Berosus. This Being " in the day-time used to converse with men; " but took no food at that season; and he gave " them an insight into letters and science, and " every kind of art. He taught them to con- " struct houses, to found temples, to compile " laws, and explained to them the principles of

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[15] *In the first year*, from what determined time? No data are here given; yet the meaning will, I believe, be easily arrived at.

[16] Eusebius, or rather Alexander Polyhistor, mentions in the sequel his great knowledge and sagacity. In like manner he is styled Μυσαρος by Apollodorus, though represented in the original as a being of great justice and truth, and an universal benefactor.

[17] It appears from hence that this is no regular translation from Berosus; the Grecian copier putting in observations of his own, and borrowing from others; though to say the truth, they seem to be the words of Eusebius.

" geometrical knowledge. He made them dis-
" tinguish the seeds of the earth, and shewed
" them how to collect fruits; in short, he in-
" structed them in every thing which could tend
" to soften manners and humanize mankind. From
" that time, so universal were his instructions,
" nothing has been added material by way of
" improvement. When the sun set, it was the
" custom of this Being to plunge again into
" the sea, and abide all the night in the deep."
After this there appeared other animals like Oannes, of which Berosus promises to give an [18] account when he comes to the history of the [19] kings.

Moreover Oannes wrote concerning the generation of mankind: of their different ways of life, and of civil polity; and the following is the purport of what he said: " There was
" nothing but darkness, and an abyss of water,
" wherein resided most hideous beings, which
" were produced of a twofold principle. Men
" appeared with two wings, some with four,
" and with two faces. They had one body, but
" two heads; the one of a man, the other of

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[18] These again are the words of the transcriber.

[19] The history of the kings of Babylon was to come afterwards, which is of consequence to be observed.

" a woman. They were likewise in their several " organs both male and female. Other human fi- " gures were to be seen with the legs and horns " of goats. Some had horses' feet: others had " the limbs of a horse behind; but before were " fashioned like men, resembling hippocentaurs. " Bulls likewise bred there with the heads " of men; and dogs with fourfold bodies, and " the tails of fishes. Also horses with the heads " of dogs: men too, and other animals, with the " heads and bodies of horses, and the tails of " fishes. In short, there were creatures with the " limbs of every species of animals. Add to these, " fishes, reptiles, serpents, with other wonderful " animals; which assumed each other's shape and " countenance. Of all these were preserved de- " lineations in the temple of Belus at Babylon. " The person, who was supposed to have pre- " sided over them, had the name of Omorca. " This in the Chaldaïc language is Thalath; " which the Greeks express θαλασσα, the sea: " but according to the most true computation, it " is equivalent to (Σεληνη) the moon. All things " being in this situation, Belus came, and cut the " woman asunder: and out of one half of her he " formed the earth, and of the other half the " heavens; and at the same time destroyed the " animals in the abyss. All this, Berosus said, " was an allegorical description of nature. For

" the whole universe consisting of moisture, and " animals being continually generated therein; " [20] the Deity (Belus) abovementioned cut off " [21] his own head: upon which the other Gods " mixed the [22] blood, as it gushed out, with the " earth; and from thence men were formed. On " this account it is, that they are rational, and " partake of divine knowledge. This Belus, " whom men call Dis, divided the darkness, and " separated the heavens from the earth; and " reduced the universe to order. But the ani- " mals so lately created, not being able to bear " the prevalence of light, died. Belus upon this, " seeing a vast space quite uninhabited, though " by nature very fruitful, ordered one of the " Gods to take off his head; and when it was " taken off, they were to mix the blood with the " soil of the earth; and from thence to form " other men and animals, which should be capa- " ble of bearing the [23] light. Belus also formed

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[20] Eusebius expresses it, τουτων θεον; Syncellus, τουτον του θεον, the God abovementioned. This may be proved to be the true reading, from what comes after: for the fact is repeated; and his head cut off again.

[21] Αυτης, according to some. Others have ἑαυτου, which is the true reading.

[22] Σωμα, Syncell.

[23] Αιρα φυρειν, Eusebius; αιρα φερειν, Syncellus; which is the

" the stars, and the sun, and moon, together " with the five planets." We have after this the following intelligence concerning the history above; that what was there quoted, belonged to the first book of Berosus, according to the author's own distribution of facts: that in the second book was the history of the Chaldean monarchs, and the times of each reign; which consisted collectively of one hundred and twenty sari, or four hundred thirty-two thousand years; *reaching to the time of the deluge.* This latter attestation of the reigns of the kings, reaching in a line of descent to the deluge, was never taken from [24] Berosus: they are the words of the copier; and contrary to the evidence of the true history, as shall be plainly shewn hereafter.

After this comes a detached, but most curious extract from the same author: wherein he gives an account of the deluge, and of the principal

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true reading. The original word was אור, Aur, light; which Aur they have changed to αηρ: but the context shews that it was not the air, which they were formed to be proof against, but אור, light. This is a common mistake among the Latins, as among the Greeks. The Orientals worshipped Aur, אור, the sun: this is by Julius Firmicus and many other writers rendered Aer.

[24] It is accordingly omitted by Syncellus, as foreign to the true history.

circumstances, with which that great event was attended, conformably to the history of Moses: and he mentions the person, who was chiefly interested in the affair, by the name of Sisuthrus. " [25] After the death of Ardates, his son (Sisuthrus) " succeeded and reigned eighteen sari. In his " time happened the great deluge; the history " of which is given in this manner. The Deity, " Cronus, appeared to him in a vision; and gave " him notice, that upon the fifteenth day of the " month Dæsius there would be a flood, by which " mankind would be destroyed. He therefore " injoined him to commit to writing a history of " the [26] beginning, procedure, and final conclu- " sion of all things, down to the present term; " and to bury these accounts securely in the City " of the Sun at [27] Sippara. He then ordered Si- " suthrus to build a vessel, and to take with him " into it his friends and relations; and trust him- " self to the deep. The latter implicitly obeyed: " and having conveyed on board every thing ne- " cessary to sustain life, he took in also all spe- " cies of animals, that either fly, or rove upon " the surface of the earth. Having asked the

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[25] Euseb. Chron. p. 8. Syncellus. p. 30.

[26] Δια γραμματων παντων αρχας.

[27] Σισπαρις. Syncellus.

" Deity, whither he was to go, he was answered,
" To the Gods: upon which he offered up a
" prayer for the good of mankind. Thus he o-
" beyed the divine admonition: and the vessel,
" which he built, was five stadia in length, and
" in breadth two. Into this he put every thing
" which he had got ready; and last of all con-
" veyed into it his wife, children, and friends.
" After the flood had been upon the earth, and
" was in time abated, Sisuthrus sent out some
" birds from the vessel; which not finding any
" food, nor any place to rest their feet, returned
" to him again. After an interval of some days,
" he sent them forth a second time: and they
" now returned with their feet tinged with mud.
" He made trial a third time with these birds:
" but they returned to him no more: from whence
" he formed a judgment, that the surface of the
" earth was now above the waters. Having there-
" fore made an opening in the vessel, and finding
" upon [28] looking out, that the vessel was driven
" to the side of a mountain, he immediately
" quitted it, being attended with his wife, chil-

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[28] This is wonderfully consonant to the Mosaic account; which represents Noah and his family as quite shut up, without any opening, during the time of the deluge.

" dren, and [29] *the pilot.* Sisuthrus immediately " paid his adoration to the earth: and having " constructed an altar, offered sacrifices to the " Gods. These things being duly performed, " both Sisuthrus, and those who came out of the " vessel with him, disappeared. They, who re- " mained in the vessel, finding that the others did " not return, came out with many lamentations, " and called continually on the name of Sisuthrus. " Him they saw no more; but they could distin- " guish his voice in the air, and could hear him " admonish them to pay due regard to the Gods; " and likewise inform them, that it was upon ac- " count of his piety that he was translated to live " with the Gods; that his wife and children, " with the pilot, had obtained the same honour. " To this he added, that he would have them " make the best of their way to Babylonia, and " search for the writings at Sippara, which were " to be made known to all mankind. The place " where these things happened was in Armenia. " The remainder having heard these words, of-

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[29] This is scarcely the true account. Berosus would hardly suppose a pilot (κυβερνητης), where a vessel was totally shut up, and confessedly driven at the will of the winds and waves. I can easily imagine, that a Grecian interpreter would run into the mistake, when he was adapting the history to his own taste.

" fered sacrifices to the Gods; and, [30] taking a " circuit, journeyed towards Babylonia. Berosus " adds, that the remains of the vessel were to be " seen in his time upon one of the Corcyrean " mountains in Armenia; and that people used to " scrape off the bitumen, with which it had been " outwardly coated, and made use of it by way " of an alexipharmic and amulet. In this man- " ner they returned to Babylon; and having " found the writings at Sippara, they set about " building cities, erecting temples; and [31] Baby- " lon was thus inhabited [32] again."

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[30] Περιξ πορευθηναι, Eusebius. This confirms what I supposed about the rout of the Cuthites, as mentioned Genesis c. 11. v. 2.

[31] If Babylon survived, one would imagine that other cities would have been in like manner preserved; and that the temples, if any had been in the world before, would have remained, as well as that at Sippara: whence it would naturally appear unnecessary for these few people to have been in such a hurry to build. In short, they are not the genuine words of Berosus: for he knew too much not to be apprised that Babylon was not an antediluvian city.

[32] An epitome of the foregoing history is to be found in an extract from Abydenus. Μετα Ευεδωρισχον αλλοι τινες ηρξαν, και Σισιθρος. Τω δη Κρονος προσημαινει εσεσθαι πληθος ομβρων Δαισιω εν κελευει δε παν ὁ, τι γραμματων ην εχομενον εν Ἡλιου πολει τη εν Σιπ- παροισι αποκρυψαι. Σισιθρος δι ταυτα επιτελεα ποιησας ευθεως επ' Αρμενιης ανεπλωε· και παραυτικα μιν κατελαμβανει τα εκ του Θεου. Τριτη

In this history, however here and there embellished with extraneous matter, are contained wonderful traces of the truth; and we have in it recorded some of the principal and most interesting circumstances of that great event when mankind perished by the deluge. The purpose of the author was to give an account of Babylonia, with which the history of the world in its early state was connected. If we consider the three writers, to whom we are indebted for these fragments, we may perceive that none of them were translators, or regularly copied any part of the original; but were satisfied with making extracts, which they accommodated to their own taste and fancy, and arranged as seemed best to their judgment. And in respect to what is more fully transmitted to us by Alexander Polyhistor, from Berosus, we may, upon close inspection, perceive, that the original history was of a twofold nature, and obtained by different means from two separate quarters. The latter part is plain and obvious, and was un-

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δε ἡμερῃ, επει τε ὑων εκοπασε, μετιει των ορνιθαν, πειρην ποιευμενος, ειπω γην ιδοιεν τȣ ὑδατος εκδυσαν. Ἀιδε, εκδεκομενȣ σφεας πελαγεος αμφιχανεος, απορεȣσαι, ὁκῃ καθορμησονται, παρα Σισιθρον οπισω κομιζονται, και επι αυτῃσι ἑτεραι. Ὡς δε τῃσι τριτῃσι επετυχεεν, (απικεατο γαρ δη πηλȣ καταπλεοι τȣς ταρσȣς) θεοι μιν εξ ανθρωπων αφανιζȣσι. Τοδε πλοιον εν Αρμενιῃ ξυλȣ περιαπτα αλεξιφαρμακα και τοισι επιχωριοισι παρειχετο. Eusebii Chron. p. 8.

doubtedly taken from the archives of the Chaldeans. The former is allegorical and obscure, and was copied from hieroglyphical representations, which could not be precisely decyphered. Berosus mentions expressly, that the representations of the characters, which he describes in his chaotic history, were in his time extant in Babylonia. In consequence of his borrowing from records so very different, we find him, without his being apprized of it, giving two histories of the same person. Under the character of *the man of the sea*, whose name was Oannes, we have an allegorical representation of the great patriarch, whom, in his other history, he calls Sisuthrus. [33] *His whole body*, it seems, *was like that of a fish; and he had under the head of a fish another head, &c. and a delineation of him was to be seen at Babylon. He infused into mankind a knowledge of right and wrong; instructed them in every science; directed them to found temples; and to pay regard to the Gods. He taught them also to distinguish the different sorts of seeds; and to collect the fruits of the earth; and to provide against futurity. In short, he instructed mankind so fully, that nothing afterward could be added thereto.* This is the character given afterwards to [34] Si-

[33] Euseb. Chron. p. 6.

[34] Ibid. p. 8.

suthros, only differently exhibited. He was a man of the sea, and bequeathed to mankind all kind of instruction; accounts of every thing that had passed in the world, which were supposed to have been buried in Sippara. They were to be universally known, and consequently abounded with every thing that could be beneficial. But there was no occasion for this care and information, if such a person as Oannes had gone before; for, according to Berosus, he had been so diffuse in his instructions, and comprehended so completely every useful art, that nothing afterwards was ever added. So that Oannes is certainly the emblematical character of Sisuthrus, the great instructor and benefactor. Oannes is the same in purport as the Grecian Οινας, Oinas; and as the Iönas of the Babylonians and Chaldeans. He was represented under different symbols, and had various titles, by which means his character has been multiplied; and he has, by the Grecian writers, who treat of him above, been introduced several times. In one of his introductions they call him Odacon, which is certainly a corruption for ὁ Δαχων, or Δαγων, the God Dagon. He was represented variously in different places, but consisted always of a human personage, in some degree blended with a [35] fish. He sometimes ap-

[35] The Indian representation of Ixora, and Vish-Nou.

pears alone; sometimes with three other personages similar to himself, to whom he gave instructions, which they imparted to the rest of the world. He is said to have shewn himself εν πρωτῳ ενιαυτῳ, *in the first year;* which is an imperfect, yet intelligible, piece of history. The first year, mentioned in this manner absolute, must signify the first year in time, the year of the renewal of the world. He appeared twice, and discoursed much with mankind, but would not eat with them. This, I imagine, was in his antediluvian state, when there is reason to think that men in general fed upon raw flesh; nay, eat it crude, while the life was in it. This we may infer from that positive injunction given by the Deity to Noah after the deluge. [36] *Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you——but flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat.* Such a custom had certainly prevailed: and a commemoration of it was kept up among the Gentiles, in all the rites and mysteries of Dionusus and [37] Bacchus.

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[36] Genesis. c. 9. v. 3. 4.

[37] Hence Bacchus was called ωμοφαγος, ωμηστης. Vivum laniant dentibus taurum. Jul. Firmicus of the rites of Crete.

Διονυσον Μαινολην· οργιαζουσι Βακχοι, ωμοφαγια την Ιερομανιαν αγοντες· και τελουσιν τας κρεονομιας των ιερειων, αντεμμενοι τοις οφεσιν. Clemens Alexandr. Cohort. p. 11.

From what has been said, I flatter myself, it will appear, that Berosus borrowed his history from two different sources; and in consequence of it has introduced the same person under two different characters. With this clue his history will appear more intelligible; and a further insight may be gained into the purport of it by considering it in this light. We may be able to detect and confute the absurdity of Abydenus and Apollodorus, who pretend, upon the authority of this writer, to produce ten antediluvian kings, of whom no mention was made by him: for what are taken by those writers for antediluvians, are expressly referred by him to another æra. Yet have these writers been followed in their notions by Eusebius, and some other of the antients; and by almost every modern who has written upon the subject. Their own words, or at least the words which they quote from Berosus, are of themselves sufficient to confute the notion: for they speak of the first king who reigned to have been a Chaldean, and of Babylon, and to have been called Alorus. Now, it is certain that Nimrod built Babel, which is Babylon, after the flood. He was a Chaldean, and the first king upon earth; and he was called by many nations [38] Orion and Alorus. Yet, by these writers,

[38] The Persians called Nimrod, Orion: and Orion in Sicily, and other places was named Alorus. See this volume, p. 23. 50.

Alorus is made an antediluvian prince; and being raised ten generations above Sisuthrus, or Noah, he stands in the same degree of rank as the Protoplast; and many in consequence of it have supposed him to be Adam. We are much indebted to Alexander Polyhistor for giving us, not only a more copious, but a more genuine extract from Berosus, than has been transmitted by the other two writers. We know from him that there were of that author [39] two books, of the first of which he has transmitted to us a curious epitome. In this book, after having given an account of the country, and its produce, he proceeds to the history of the people; and the very first occurrence is the appearance of Oannes, (ὁ Δαγων) *the man of the sea.* He is introduced, εν πρωτῳ ενιαυτῳ, in the first year of the history, which is no other than the first year of the world after the flood, when there was a renewal of time, and the earth was in its second infancy. At this period is Oannes introduced. But the other two writers, contrary to the tenor of the original history, make him subsequent in time. This embarrasses the account very much; for, as he is placed the very first in the prior treatise of Berosus, it is hard to conceive how any of these ten kings

[39] There were in all three.

could have been before him, especially as the author had expressly said, Εν τη δευτερα τως ι βασιλειας. *In the second book I shall give an account of the ten kings of Babylon.* It is manifest from hence, that they were posterior to Oannes, and to all the circumstances of the first book. The Grecians, not knowing, or not attending to the eastern mode of writing, have introduced these ten kings in the first book, which [40] Berosus expressly refers to the second. They often inverted the names of persons, as well as of places, and have ruined whole dynasties through ignorance of arrangement. What the Orientals wrote from right to left, they were apt to confound by a wrong disposition, and to describe in an inverted series. Hence these supposed kings, who, according to Berosus, were subsequent to the deluge, and to the Patriarch, are made prior to both; and he who stood first is made later by ten generations, through a reversion of the true order. Those who have entertained

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[40] Abydenus begins the history of the ten kings with these words; Χαλδαιων μεν της σοφιας περι τοσαυτα: *So much concerning the wisdom of the Chaldeans.* Is it not plain that this could not be the beginning of the first book? and may we not be assured, from the account given by Alexander Polyhistor, that this was the introduction to the second treatise, in which Berosus had promised to give a history of the Chaldean kings?

the notion that these kings were antediluvian, have been plunged into insuperable difficulties, and deservedly. For how could they be so weak as to imagine that there was a city in Babylon, and a country named from it, ten generations before the flood; also a province styled Chaldea? These names were circumstantial, and imposed in aftertimes for particular reasons, which could not before have subsisted. Babylon was the Babel of the Scriptures, so named from the confusion of tongues. What is extraordinary, Abydenus mentions this fact, and says, that [41] Babylon was so called from confusion, *because the language of men was there confounded.* In like manner, Chaldea was denominated from people styled [42] Chasdim and Chusdim, who were the posterity of Chus. But if the name were of an etymology ever so different, yet to suppose a people of this name before the flood, also a city and province of Babylon, would be an unwarrantable [43] presumption. It would be repugnant

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[41] Βαβυλων καλειται δια την συγχυσιν, κ.τ.λ. Eusebii Chronic. p. 13. from Abydenus.

[42] The true name of the country, called by the Greeks and Romans Chaldea, was Chasdia and Chusdia; named so from the inhabitants, styled Chusdim, or the children of Chus. This is the general name which uniformly occurs in Scripture.

[43] Syncellus says, that before the flood, ουτε Βαβυλων ην ουτε την

to the history of Moses, and to every good history upon the subject.

At the close of the first book it is said, by Eusebius, that Berosus had promised in the second to give an account of the ten kings, who reached in a series *to the deluge*. I wish that Eusebius, instead of telling us himself the author's intention, had given us his words. The passage is very suspicious, and seems not to have existed, even in the Greek translation, as it is totally omitted by Syncellus. Berosus might, at the conclusion of his first treatise, say, that he would now proceed to the history of the ten kings; but that they were to reach down to the deluge I believe was never intimated; nor does there seem in the nature of things any reason for him to have mentioned such a circumstance. It is highly probable, as Oannes stood foremost in the allegorical history of the Chaldeans, that Sisuthrus held the same place in the real history of that country, for they were both the same

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γης, ὅτι Χαλδαίων βασιλεια, *there was no such city as Babylon, nor any kingdom of Chaldea.* p. 15. Again, Τουτων τι σαφεστερον ακουειν εθελοιμι περι Βαβυλωνος, ὁτι προ του κατακλυσμου ὡδεπω ὡφθη, ὡδι μετα τον κατακλυσμον, ἑως του κινησαι τους ανθρωπους συληθυσθεντας απο ανατολων, και κατοικησαι αυτους εν γη Σενααρ, και οικοδομησαι την πολιν και τον πυργον, προηγουμενου αυτων του θεομαχου Νεβρωδ, και βασιλευοντος. Ibid. p. 37.

person; and whatever series there might be of persons recorded, they were in descent from him. But the Greeks, not attending to the mode of writing in the original, have ruined the whole disposition, and made these persons precede. And here is a question to be asked of these historians, as well as of Eusebius in particular, allowing these kings to be antediluvian; What is become of those who succeeded afterwards? Were there no postdiluvian kings of Babylon? Did nobody reign after the flood? If there did, what is become of this dynasty? Where is it to be found? The history of Babylon, and of its princes, taken from the later æra, would be of vast consequence: it is of so early a date, as to be almost coeval with the annals of the new world; and must be looked upon as the basis of historical knowledge. The supposed antediluvian accounts are trifling in comparison of the latter: the former world is far separated from us. It is like a vast peninsula joined to the continent by a slip of land, which hardly admits of any communication. But a detail of these after kings would be of consequence in chronology; and would prove the foundation for all subsequent history. Where then are these kings? In what quarter do they lurk? They are no where to be found. And the reason is this: their dynasty has been inverted. Hence they have been misplaced through anticipation;

and adjudged to a prior æra. On this account the later dynasty is not given to us, though so necessary to be made known: and much I fear that we are deprived of the second book of Polyhistor from Berosus; because this dynasty of kings was to be found there, probably differently exhibited; and under a contrary arrangement: which would have spoiled the system espoused. For, that the original has been misconstrued, and misquoted, is apparent from the want of uniformity in those who have copied Berosus, or any ways taken from him. In short, the tenor of this history, even as we have it in Alexander Polyhistor, is very plain; and the scheme of it easy to be traced. The purpose of Berosus was to write an account of his own country: and he accordingly begins with the natural history; wherein he describes the situation of the region, the nature of the soil, and the various products, with which it abounded. All this is said of Babylonia, not of any antediluvian country. He must have been wise indeed, after an interval of so many thousand years, to have known that it originally bore sesamum and dates. He is speaking of Babylon, the place of his nativity, and the country denominated from it; of which when he has given a just description, he proceeds to relate the principal occurrences of former ages. And the first great event in the history of time is the appear-

ance of [44] Oannes, *the man of the sea*, who shewed himself to mankind in the very first [45] year: so that Berosus makes his annals commence from him. This person is represented as a preacher of justice; and a general instructor and benefactor, who had appeared in two different states. He informed mankind of what had happened in preceding times: and went higher, even to the chaotic state of things, before the æra of creation. He

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[44] Helladius speaks of this person, and calls him Ωην, which the Dorians would express Ωαν. I have sometimes thought that this term was Noe, and Noa, reversed and confounded. This author supposes, that Oan is the same as Ωον; and that the person was born of the mundane egg. Ὅτι μυθολογει ανδρα τινα ωνομασμενον Ωης της Ερυθρας Θαλασσης ανιλθειν, τ' αλλα μεν των μελων ιχθυος ειχοντα, κεφαλην δε και ποδας και χειρας ανδρος· και καταδειξαι την τε αστρονομιαν, και τα γραμματα. Οι δε αυτον εκ του πρωτογονου φεφηνεναι λεγουσιν Ωυ· και μαρτυρειν τ' ὀνομα· ανθρωπον δε οντα τω φαντα, ιχθυν δοξαι· διοπερ ημφιεσο κητωδη δοραν. Helladius apud Phot. Hist. cclxxix. p. 1594.

I have before shewn, that by Ωον πρωτογονον was signified the ark.

[45] It is said that there were three persons like him, who made their appearance from the sea in the same manner. Their history is postponed by Berosus to his second book. They were certainly the three sons of Noah, who had, like their father, been witnesses to the antediluvian world: but as the greater part of their life was after the flood, their history is by this writer deferred till he comes to treat of the kings of Babylon: which was in his latter book.

said, that there was originally one vast abyss, which was enveloped in universal darkness. This abyss was inhabited by myriads of hideous miscreated beings, horrid to imagination. The poet Milton seems to allude to this description of Berosus, when he speaks of

> The secrets of the hoary deep, a dark
> Illimitable ocean, without bound,
> Without dimension, where length, breadth, and height,
> And time, and place were lost: where nature bred
> Perverse all monstrous, all prodigious things,
> Abominable, unutterable, and worse
> Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
> Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire.

After having given an account of chaos, Berosus tells us, that a delineation of this history, and all these monstrous forms were to be seen in Babylonia: and from this undoubtedly he borrowed this motley representation. The whole is certainly taken from antient hieroglyphics. Oannes now proceeds to the works of the creation, and the formation of the heavens: at which time all the animals of the deep were annihilated. A set of rational beings succeeded, who partook of divine knowledge: but not being able to bear the

brightness of new-created light, they perished. Upon this, another set of rational beings were formed, who were able to bear the light. The Deity also formed the stars, together with the sun, and moon, and five planets. He then gave an account of the wickedness of men, and the ruin of all mankind by a deluge, except Sisuthrus. These are the contents of the first book of Berosus. In the second he promises to write of the kings, who reigned in Babylonia: which history, if we may believe Abydenus and Apollodorus, containing an antediluvian account of the world. In this notion they are followed by that very learned father, Eusebius. At this rate, Berosus expended his labour upon times the most uncertain, and the least interesting; and of his real ancestors, the genuine Babylonians and Chusdim, said not a word. For had it appeared to Eusebius, that there was any further account given of the kings of Babylon, and their achievements, he could not but have mentioned it; as it was of such consequence to him as a chronologer, and so connected with the purport of his writings. But, if we may judge from his silence, there was no such account: and the reason, as I before said, is plain. For whatever kings may have reigned at Babylon, or in Chaldea, they have had their series reversed; and by a groundless anticipation have been referred to another period. But if we

turn the tables, and reduce the series to its original order; we shall find Sisuthrus, the Patriarch, stand first: and whoever they may be, who are brought between him and Alorus, they will come after. For Alorus will be found to be no other than [46] Nimrod, the son of Chus. He is by Berosus truly styled Χαλδαιος, one of the Chusdim, or Chaldeans; and represented as the first king of Babylon. He was indeed the first who reigned upon earth; and we need no other proof, that this is the truth, than the words of these very writers Abydenus and Apollodorus. [47] Χαλδαιων μεν της σοφιας περι τοσαυτα. Βασιλευσαι δε της χωρας πρωτον λε γεται Αλωρον. *So much for the wisdom of the Chaldeans. It is said that the first king in this country (Chaldea) was Alorus.* To the same purpose Apollodorus. Ταυτα μεν ὁ Βηρωσσος ἱστορησε,

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[46] Παρα μεν Χαλδαιοις πρωτος ὁ αρξας αυτων Αλωρος. Chron. Paschale. p. 23.

[47] The Chaldeans were famed for their knowledge in astronomy and other sciences; and, according to Abydenus, the previous account given by Berosus was concerning the wisdom of this people. He then concludes; Χαλδαιων μεν της σοφιας περι τοσαυτα: *So much for the wisdom of the Chaldeans: we come now to their kings. The first of these was Alorus, a Chaldean by birth,* &c. Who can suppose that this relates to an antediluvian æra? And Eusebius puts the matter out of all doubt: Οι Χαλδαιοι πρωτοι ἀνηγορευσαν ἑαυτους βασιλεις, ὡν πρωτος Ευηχοος, ὁ παρ' ἡμιν Νευρωδ (or Νεμρωδ) ἐβασιλευσεν. Eusebii Chron. p. 14.

πρωτον γενεσθαι βασιλεα Αλωρον εκ Βαβυλωνος Χαλδαιον. What the Greeks and Romans rendered *Chaldæus*, whom we in our scripture version idly follow, is in the original Chasdim or Chusdim, one of the sons of Chus; and the purport of this extract from Berosus is very explicit and particular; that the first of all kings, that is the first person who reigned in the world, was a man styled Alorus, who was of Babylon, and one of the Chusdim or Cuthites. How is it possible to imagine that this description refers to an antediluvian? We may therefore close the account with that curious passage from Eupolemus, which was preserved by the same Alexander Polyhistor to whom we are indebted for the fragment from Berosus. He tells us that Babylon was the first built city in the world, founded by some of those persons who had escaped the deluge, who were of the Giant race. They likewise erected the celebrated tower. But when that was thrown down by the hand of God, the Giants were scattered over the face of the earth. [48] Πολιν Βαβυλωνα πρωτον μεν κτισθηναι ὑπο των διασωθεντων εκ τε κατακλυσμε· ειναι δε αυτες Γιγαντας, οικοδομειν δε τον ἱσρεμενον Πυργον. Πεσοντος δε τετε ὑπο της τε Θεε ενεργειας, τες Γιγαντας διασπαρηναι καθ' ὁλην την γην.

[48] Eusebii Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 17. p. 418.

Who the personages may be, who intervene between Sisuthrus and Alorus, that is between Noah and Nimrod, is hard to determine. Thus much we know, that the Patriarch never assumed royalty; so that there could be no connexion between them as monarchs in succession. The series exhibited in the history must have been by family descent, in which Nimrod stood only fourth; so that all the personages but two, of those who had been introduced in the interval, are probably kings of other places in Chaldea; or priests who had a kind of sovereign rule, and have been wrongly inserted. Sisuthrus is, past controversy, [49] Noah. Amelon is composed of the titles of Ham, consisting of Am El On, all relating to the Sun or Orus, under which character this person was in aftertimes worshipped. Daus Pastor is by Apollodorus expressed Daonus, from [50] Da On, the Sun, a title assumed by Ham and his sons. Amenon, like Amelon, is made up of terms which are all titles of the same person,

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[49] Νωε Σισυθρος παρα Χαλδαιοις. Cedrenus p. 11.

[50] It is a title given to Orion, who was the same as Nimrod. Chron. Pasch. 36. He is styled Chan-Daon, the Lord Daon, by Lycophron; who mentions Τριπατορος φασγανον Καιδαονος. v. 328. scilicet Ωριωνος, ὃν και Καιδαονα Βοιωτοι καλουσιν. Schol. ibid. So Megalorus of Abydenus is Mag-Alorus; in other words, Magus Alorus, Nebrodes, Orion, the chief of the Magi.

each of them well known in Egypt. Alaparus seems to be the same as Al-Porus, the God of fire. Amillarus is a compound of Ham-El-Arez, all names of Ham and the sun. Some of the persons are said to be of Laracha, which Syncellus expresses wrongly Larancha. Laracha is for Al-Aracha, the Aracca of Ptolemy, one of the cities built by [51] Nimrod; others are said to be of Pantibibla or Pantibiblon, whom I take to have been Ponti-Babilon, or priests of Babel or Babylon. Panti, Ponti, and Phonti in the Amonian language signified a [52] priest. Argeiphontes in Greece was an Arkite priest, or minister of Argus; but the Grecians supposed that Phontes denoted slaughter, from a word in their own language; and in consequence of it bestowed the name on Hermes, whom they made the murderer of Argus. Pontifex and Pontifices among the Romans were

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[51] He built *Babel, and* Erech, *and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.* Gen. c. 10. v, 10.

[52] Hence Ἱεροφαντης, a sacred priest, or priest of Orus; Καθαροφαντης; Hermophontes; Ceresphontes; Λευκοφαντης from Λευκος, Sol. See Jablonsky Prolegom. p. 90.

Phantasia of Memphis was properly Phant-Asis, a priestess of Asis or Isis. Amillarus, Megalorus, Adorescus, Alaparus, D[illegible] the Shepherd, are all said to have been of Pantibiblon. T[illegible] not a place, but an office; and it signified that they we[illegible] of Babel.

titles of the priests of fire. I imagine that the original list, which has been supposed to have been a dynasty of antediluvian kings, was the genealogy of Nimrod, the first king of the country, in which were contained four persons; Sisuthrus, or the Patriarch: next, under the character of [52] Amenon, Amelon, Amilarus, is Ham: Eudoreschus (Euc-Ad-Arez-Chus) is his son Chus: and, lastly, Alorus and Daonus the Shepherd was Nimrod; for it is expressly said of him that he took the title of [53] Shepherd. The rest are foreign to the catalogue; and through ignorance have been inserted.

It is said that both Oannes and Sisuthrus instructed men in the knowledge of letters, and committed many things to writing. And it is the opinion of many learned men that letters were not unknown to the people of the antediluvian world. Pliny says, Literas semper arbitror Assyria fuisse. But this was only matter of opinion; and as he, a professed geographer, makes no distinction be-

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[52] Amenon may be Menon ill expressed, the same as Men or Menes. This was one of the most antient of the sacred titles. Anticlides in Ægypto invenisse quendam nomine Menona tradit, quindecim annos ante Phoroneum antiquissimum Græciæ regem: idque monumentis adprobare conatur. Plinii Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 56.

[53] Abydenus above quoted.

tween the Assyrians and Babylonians, who were two very different people, but introduces the former by mistake for the latter: we cannot pay much regard to his notions in chronology. If the people of the first ages had been possessed of so valuable a secret as that of writing, they would never have afterwards descended to means less perfect for the explanation of their ideas. And it is to be observed, that the invention of hieroglyphics was certainly a discovery of the Chaldeans; and made use of in the first ages by the Egyptians; the very nations, who are supposed to have been possessed of the superior and more perfect art. They might retain the former, when they became possessed of the latter; because their antient records were entrusted to hieroglyphics: but, had they been possessed of letters originally, they would never have deviated into the use of symbols: at least, for things, which were to be published to the world, and which were to be commemorated for ages. Of their hieroglyphics we have samples without end in Egypt; both on obelisks, and in their syringes: as also upon their portals, and other buildings. Every mummy almost abounds with them. How comes it, if they had writing so early, that scarcely one specimen is come down to us; but that every example should be in the least perfect character? For my part, I believe that there was no writing antecedent to the law

at Mount Sina. Here the divine art was promulgated; of which other nations partook: the Tyrians and Sidonians first, as they were the nearest to the fountain-head. And when this discovery became more known; even then I imagine, that its progress was very slow: that in many countries, whither it was carried, it was but partially received, and made use of to no purpose of consequence. The Romans carried their pretensions to letters pretty high; and the Helladian Greeks still higher; yet the former marked their years by a nail driven into a post: and the utmost effort of Grecian literature for some ages was simply to write down the names of the Olympic victors from Coræbus; and to register the priestesses of Argos. Why letters, when introduced, were so partially received, and employed to so little purpose, a twofold reason may be given. First, the want of antecedent writings, to encourage people to proceed in the same track. Where science is introduced together with letters; the latter are more generally received, and more abundantly used. For the practice of writing, or, in other words, composing, depends upon previous reading, and example. But the Cadmians, who brought letters to Greece, brought those elements only; and those much later, I believe, than is generally imagined. Nor had the Helladians any tendency to learning, till they were

awakened by the Asiatic Greeks, and the islanders, who had been sooner initiated in science. They had made a great progress; while their brethren in the west were involved in darkness. And this early knowledge was not owing to any superiority of parts; but to their acquaintance with the people of the east, and with the writings of those countries; by which they were benefited greatly. Composition depends upon science: it was introduced in Hellas together with philosophy. Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ brought the learning of the Iönic school to Athens: he was succeeded by Archelaus, of whom Socrates was a follower. Writing, I am sensible, was antecedent: but at this time it became general. About this period, Theognis, Æschylus, and Pindar shone forth in poetry; and the antient comedy was first exhibited. After which, wonderful specimens of genius were in every kind displayed.

Another reason for this deficiency seems to have been the want of such materials as are necessary for expeditious and free writing. The rind and leaves of trees, and shells from the sea, can lend but small assistance towards literature: and stones and slabs are not calculated to promote it much further. Yet these seem to have been the best means, they could in early times procure, to mark down their thoughts, or commemorate an event. The Chaldeans and Babylonians are greatly cele-

brated for their wisdom and learning: and they were undoubtedly a most wonderful people; and had certainly all the learning that could arise from hieroglyphical representations. They had, I make no doubt, the knowledge of lines, by which geometrical problems must be illustrated: and they had the use of figures for numeration: but I imagine, that they were without letters for ages. Epigenes said that the Babylonians, who were great observers of the heavens, had accounts of those observations for seven hundred and twenty years, written upon plinths baked in the sun. [54] Epigenes apud Babylonios 720 annorum observationes siderum coctilibus laterculis inscriptas docet gravis auctor in primis. Qui minimum, Berosus et Critodemus, 490 annorum. Ex quo apparet æternus literarum usus. I can see no proof from hence of the eternity of letters, for which Pliny contends: nor, indeed, do I believe, that letters existed among them at the time of which he speaks. For if they had been so fortunate as to have had for so long a time these elements, they were too ingenious a people not to have used them to better purpose. The Babylonians had writing among them sooner than most

[54] Plinii Hist. Nat. l. 7. p. 413. Some prefix M. or Mille to the other numbers, and make the sums 1720 and 1490.

nations of the earth: but the years taken notice of by Epigenes were antecedent to their having this knowledge: at which time they were ingenious, and wise above the rest of the sons of men; but had no pretensions to literature properly so called. For, as I have before mentioned, I cannot help forming a judgment of the learning of a people from the materials with which it is expedited, and carried on. And I should think that literature must have been very scanty, or none at all, where the means abovementioned were applied to. For it is impossible for people to receive any great benefit from letters, where they are obliged to go to a shard or an [55] oyster-shell for information, and where knowledge is consigned to a pantile. As to the high antiquity assigned to letters by Pliny; it is impossible to give any credence to that author, who from 720 years infers eternity, and speaks of those terms as synonymous.

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[55] Ostracismus, Petalismus, Liber, Folium, Tabella, Latercula.

From writing upon leaves and shells, came the terms *Petalismus* and *Ostracismus* among the Greeks: from the bark of trees came *Libri* of the Latins.

PEZRON.

I Took notice, when I was treating of the first apostasy, and rebellion upon earth, that it was a remarkable æra when [1] Scythismus was said to have commenced. This was attended with Hellenismus, which by some is brought after, but seems to have prevailed about the same time. What the purport is of these terms has never been satisfactorily explained. In respect to Scythismus, we may be thus far assured, that it is a term which relates to a people styled Scythæ; and they were the same from whom the region called Scythia had its name. There were several countries of this denomination: but what relation could the people have with Babylonia? and how can we imagine that their history could precede the æra of dispersion, yet so it will appear?

As I am therefore about to treat of these nations, it will be proper to say something of the

[1] P. 21. 31. of this volume.

learned Monsieur Pezron, whose notions upon this head are remarkable. He seems to have been the founder of a new system, in which he has had many followers; and all that science, which I suppose to have been derived to the western world from Babylonia and Egypt, they bring from the Sacæ, and Scythians of the north; making it take its rise beyond Media and Mount Imaüs, in the upper regions of Asia. We are particularly informed by Pezron, that there was a people in these parts, who in the first ages spread themselves over Bactria and Margiana; and proceeding by Armenia and Cappadocia, at last passed over into Europe. The whole of this continent they conquered, and held under the names of Gomarians, Cimmerians, Celts, and Scythæ. From hence he takes upon him to shew, that the Gaulish and Celtic nations were from the upper regions of Asia, and particularly from those countries which lay beyond the Bactrians and Medes. He takes notice, that there was in these parts a city named Comara, mentioned by Ptolemy and others; and, from the similitude which subsists between Comarians and Gomarians, the learned writer is induced to bring the sons of Gomer, by whom Europe is supposed in part to have been peopled, from the regions about Thebet and Tartary. As he proceeds methodically in the history of this people, I will lay before the reader

an epitome of what he advances, and this in as precise and fair a manner as I am able.

[2] *The Comarians*, says Pezron, *are by Ptolemy placed in Bactriana, near the sources of the Iaxartes, towards the most eastern boundaries of* [3] *Sogdiana: and they are represented as a powerful and warlike people. They passed the mountains of Margiana, and made an irruption into that country. It was then in the possession of the Medes called Arii; but they were afterwards styled Parthians, a name imposed by the conquerors. By this is meant persons* PARTED, *or* SEPARATED, *from the Celtic word to* PART, *because they were expelled, and severed from their country. These separatists in return, finding that they could not retaliate but by abusive language, called the others, by way of ridicule,* SCACÆ, *or* SACÆ, *meaning by it Noxii, Latrones,* SACKERS; PEOPLE WHO SACK AND SLAY. *These Sacæ seized upon Bactriana, and made themselves masters of the most eligible part of Armenia, which they called Sacasene, after the name which had been given to*

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[2] See chap. 3. 4. 5. 6. of Monsieur Pezron's work, entitled, The Antiquities of Nations; more particularly of the Celtæ and Gauls: by Monsieur Pezron, Doctor in Divinity, and Abbé of La Charmoye. Englished by Mr. Jones, 1706.

[3] C. 3. p. 18.

themselves. They afterwards passed into [4] *Cappadocia, and took possession of all that part which lay upon the Euxine Sea. The person who conducted them in these enterprizes was one Acmon. This name occurs in Stephanus, who mentions, that a city in Phrygia was built by* [5] *Acmon, and styles him* Ακμων τε Μανεως, *Acmon, the son of Man, or Maneus. It is likely that Acmon, or Ach-Man, as perhaps the word was pronounced by the Sacæ, signified properly the son of man, or of the race of man.*

In the mean time the Cimmerians, who were of the same family, went by the north; and having made various incursions, at last settled above the Euxine Sea, near the Palus Mæotis. If any should be diffident about what is here advanced, let him consult Plutarch, Posidonius, Diodorus, and Strabo.

Thus, says Pezron, *have I conducted the Sacæ from their original place of residence to Armenia and Cappadocia; but, as if this* [6] *famous nation*

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[4] Josephus and Syncellus make the Gomerians the first inhabitants of Cappadocia. Γομερ, ἐξ οὐ Καππαδοκες. Syncell. p. 49. They were the people attacked by the Sacæ, who seized upon the best of the country.

[5] Of Acmon I have before spoken in my second volume. Acmon was a title of the Deity. Ακμων· Κρονος, Ουρανος. Hesych.

[6] C. 8. p. 45.

were of a sudden lost, we hear no more of them. Their name seems to be quite extinct, and the people annihilated. And here a discovery is to be made of matters, which have lain concealed from all antient historians. I am now to bring to light many great and important truths, which they could never arrive at. After the Sacæ had entered Upper Phrygia, as if they had gone into another world, they quitted their antient name, which they probably detested, and were now called Titans. I never could comprehend why they took the name; whether it was through some mystery, or a mere caprice, that they affected it, or to make themselves [7] *formidable. These events were long before the war of Troy. The conquests of Acmon were prior to the birth of Abraham, and the foundation of the* [8] *Assyrian monarchy. This prince was succeeded in his kingdom by Uranus, who conquered Thrace, Greece, and the island Crete; and afterwards fell violently upon the other provinces of Europe, and carried all before him to the uttermost boundaries of Spain. He also subdued Mauritania. Uranus was succeeded by Saturn; and Saturn by Jupiter, who was three hundred years*

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[7] C. 8. p. 46.

[8] C. 8. p. 48. Even Uranus is by this writer supposed to have been before Abraham. C. 12. p. 83.

before Moses. This last entrusted one part of his vast empire to his brother Pluto, and another to his cousin-german Atlas, who was styled Telamon. He was a person of high stature: and Telamon, in the language of Jupiter, signified a [9] TALL MAN; TELL *being* TALL, *and* MON *signifying* MAN.

In this detail there are many exceptionable positions, which are too palpable to need any discussion. I shall therefore take notice only of some of the principal facts upon which his system is founded. He tells us, that while the Sacæ were proceeding by the south, the Cimmerians, who likewise came from Bactriana, are supposed to take their rout by the north of Asia; and they are represented as making their way by force of arms, till they settled upon the [10] Palus Mæotis. And it is requested by Pezron, if any should doubt the truth of what he advances, that they would apply to the best Grecian historians. But these writers have not a syllable to the purpose. That there were such a people as the Cimmerians upon the Mæotis, is as certain as that there were Phrygians in Troas, and Spartans at Lacedæmon.

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[9] C. 12. p. 84.

[10] Herodotus makes mention of the march of the Cimmerians; and proves it to have been in a quite contrary direction from the Palus Mæotis towards Caucasus, and the east. l. 4. c. 12.

But that they came from Bactria, and fought their way through different countries; that they were the brethren of the [11] Scythians, styled Sacæ, and took the upper rout, when the others were making their inroad below, are circumstances which have not the least shadow of evidence. They are not mentioned by the authors to whom he appeals, nor by any writers whatever. The conquests of Uranus, and the empire given to Jupiter, are incredible. It would be idle to trouble ourselves about a circumstance which does not merit a serious confutation. The conquests of Osiris and Sesostris have as good title to be believed. To these we might add the exploits of the great prince Abcamaz, who ruled over the whole earth. His rib was shewn to the [12] Jew of Tudela, at Damascus; and by the most exact measurement it was nine spans long, and two in breadth, so that his stature was in proportion to his dominions. But, setting aside these fabulous histories, which confute themselves, let us examine one circumstance in the account of the learned Pezron, upon which his whole system

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[11] Strabo says, the Cimmerians were driven out of their country by the Scythians. Τουτους μεν ουν (Κιμμεριους) εξελασαι εκ των τοπων Σκυθας. L. 11. p. 756.

[12] Benjamin Tudelensis. p. 56.

depends. He tells us, that after the Sacæ had entered Cappadocia, they seemed in a manner extinct; but they appeared again under the name of Titans, and carried on their conquests under the same hero, Acmon. This, he says, is a discovery of the greatest importance, which was unknown to every antient historian, and had lain dormant for ages. And for the history of the Sacæ he appeals to Strabo; and particularly concerning their inroad into Cappadocia, from whence they are supposed to have proceeded to the conquest of all Europe. But, in the execution of this grand and pleasing scheme, he is guilty of an oversight, which ruins the whole of his operations. Carried on by a warm imagination, he has been erecting a baseless fabric which cannot subsist for a moment. The passage in Strabo, upon which he founds his notions, makes intirely against him. This writer speaks thus of the Sacæ: [13] Σακαι μεντοι παραπλησιας εφοδους εποιησαντο τοις Κιμμεριοις. *The excursions of the Sacæ were like those of the Cimmerians.* In this description the author refers to a prior circumstance. Now the excursions of the Cimmerians were, in the reign of [14] Ardys, the son of Gyges, king of

[13] L. 11. p. 779.

[14] Herodotus. l. 1, c. 6. 15. 16.

Lydia, long after the Trojan war, and still farther removed from Abraham, and the supposed foundation of the Assyrian empire. And in proof of this being the author's meaning, we find him afterwards more explicitly shewing, that these excursions of the Sacæ were as late as the empire of the Persians. The account is so particular and precise, that I will lay it at large before the reader. [15] *The inroads of the Sacæ were very like those of the Cimmerians and Treres, some of them being made to a great distance, and others nearer home. For they not only got possession of Media, but also seized upon the most eligible part of Armenia, which they called Sacasene, after their own name. They advanced as far as Cappadocia; especially towards that part of it which borders upon the Euxine sea, and is called the region of Pontus.* Thus far all is right: but observe the sequel. *Here, as they were giving themselves up to feasting and jollity from the plunder which they had taken, they were set upon in the night by some of the Persian Satrapæ, and all cut off.* Pezron therefore might well say that the Sacæ, in the midst of their exploits, seem at once to have

[15] L. 11. p. 779.

Ἐπιθεμενοι δ' αυτοις παρηγυριζουσιν απο των λαφυρων ὁι τοτε ταυτη των Περσων τραπηγοι νυκτωρ, αρδην αυτους ηφανισαν. Ibid.

been annihilated, and their name extinct. Strabo tells us that they were totally ruined: αρδην αυτες αφανισαν: *the Persians cut them all off to a man.* Hence we may see of what great oversights this learned man was guilty in the prosecution of his scheme. First, in supposing these Sacæ to have been of as great antiquity as the Patriarchs, and antecedent to the foundation of Assyria, who were manifestly as late as the reign of [16] Cyrus. Secondly, in giving the character of universal conquerors to a set of banditti, who in one attack were extirpated. Lastly, in attributing the most material circumstances in the antient history of Europe to a people who were never there. Thus is this fairy vision brought to an end. The history of the Titans, the achievements of Acmon, the empire of Jupiter, the part delegated to Tal-man, are quite effaced; and much labour and ingenuity has been expended to little purpose. In short, the whole Celtic system is ruined; for the Sacæ, upon whom it depended, are stopped in their career, and no more heard of; and all this is

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[16] Strabo says, that, according to some historians, it was Cyrus who cut them off. l. 11. p. 780. But it was probably an age later when the Persian empire was more established. See the passage: Ὁι δε, ὁτι Κυρος, κ.τ.λ. See also Diodorus Sic. l. 2. p. 119.

manifest from the authorities to which Pezron appeals. Such too frequently are the quotations made use of by people of an eager disposition; which, as they are introduced, answer but in part; when examined, are totally repugnant. His reasoning throughout is carried on by a chain, of which not one link is fairly connected.

An ingenious writer and antiquary of our own nation has followed the steps of Pezron, and added to his system largely. He supposes, that all science centered of old in Bactria, called [17] Bochary, or *the land of Books*, which Pezron had supposed to have been the principal place of residence of his Sacæ. He accordingly tells us, that in these parts we must look for the origin of the Titans, Celts, and Scythæ. We are

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[17] See the History and Chronology of the Fabulous Ages, by Wise. p. 119. and note (1) in another treatise, he says: *Pezron proves, that Uranus, Cœlus, Saturn, and Jupiter, were no imaginary beings, but the true names of Celtic emperors, who were more generally known by the name of Titans.* Wise. Dissertation on the Language, Learning, &c. of Europe. *It appears, that Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter were powerful princes; sovereigns over a vast empire, comprehending all Europe, and a great part of Asia.* Ibid. p. 55. These writers were too modest in limiting Jupiter's empire, which they might as well have extended over all the earth, especially as they might have quoted authority for it. Τον Δια (φασι) βασιλευσαι της οικουμενης απασης. Diodorus. l. 3. p. 194.

likewise informed by another writer, that near Cashmire and Thebet they speak good [18] Irish at this day. The learned Salmasius also deduces every thing from Scythia. [19] Nulla fere Europæ gens nec Asiæ, quin a septentrione proman verit, &c. Scythia igitur, quæ ad septentrionem, omnes fere gentes evomuit. But what are we to understand by Scythia? It is an unlimited, undefined term, under which Grecian ignorance sheltered itself. Whatever was unknown northward was called Scythian. It is certain, that vast bodies of men have at times come from the north: though Salmasius carries his notions to a degree of extravagance. But giving his opinion a full scope, What has this to do with the language and learning of Europe; which by many are so uniformly deduced from the same quarter? It is notorious, that this vast track of country called, ignorantly, Scythia, was possessed by people essentially differing from one another. Timonax, a writer of great antiquity, took notice of fifty nations of [20] Scythians. Mithridates had twenty-two [21] languages spoken within his territories.

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[18] See Parsons, in his treatise styled Japhet.

[19] De Hellenisticâ. p. 366.

[20] Της δε Σκυθιας εθνη πεντηκοντα Τιμωναξ αναγραφει εν πρωτῳ περι Σκυθων. Scholia in Apollon. l. 4. v. 320.

[21] Mithridates duarum et viginti gentium Rex, totidem linguis

most of which were esteemed Scythic. The people of Colchis at one time carried on a great trade; and variety of inland nations came down to their marts. According to Timosthenes, they were not less than three hundred, which had each their particular [22] language. And even afterwards, in the times of the Romans, it is said, that they were obliged to keep up an hundred and thirty interpreters to carry on traffic. Yet we are apt to speak of the Scythians collectively as of one family, and of one language, and this the Titanian or Celtic. [23] *The Titan language*, says Wise, *was universal in Europe: the Titan language, the vehicle of all the knowledge which dawned in Europe. —The Titans, masters of all the knowledge derived from the sons of Noah.* And who these Titans were, he repeatedly shews, by saying, *that they were the first civilizers of mankind, and Scythians.* The true Scuthai, or Scythians, were undoubtedly a very learned and intelligent people: but their

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jura dixit. Plin. l. 7. c. 24. p. 387. See Aulus Gellius. l. 17. c. 17. There were twenty-six languages among the Albani. Strabo. l. 11. p. 768. See also Socratis Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 19. p. 49. Βαρβαρων εθνη πολλα, διαφορους χρωμενα γλωσσαις.

[22] Plin. l. 5. c. 5. p. 305. Many of these were probably only dialects. Yet there must have been in some instances a real difference of language; and consequently a distinction of people.

[23] P. 56.

origin is not to be looked for in the north of Asia, and the deserts of Tartary. Their history was from another quarter, as I purpose to shew. How can we suppose one uniform language to have been propagated from a part of the world where there was such variety? And how could this language be so widely extended as to reach from Bactria to Thrace, and from thence to the extremities of Europe? What adds to the difficulty is, that all this was effected, if we may believe our author, six hundred years before Moses. Then it was, that Jupiter subdued all Europe from Thracia to Gades. As to the learning supposed to be derived from these Scythians, it is certainly a groundless surmise. The greater part of these nations, commonly styled Scythic, were barbarous to the last degree. There are no monuments, nor writings, remaining, nor any upon record, which can afford us the least idea of their being liberal, or learned. The Huns and Avares were of these parts; who over-ran the empire in the fourth century: but their character had nothing in it favourable. They were so rude in feature and figure, and such barbarians, that they were not thought [24] human. It was a common notion, that they were begotten by devils

[24] Jornandes de Rebus Geticis. p. 104.

upon the bodies of some savage hags, who were found wild in the woods. Procopius says, that they neither had letters, nor would hear of them: so that their children had no instruction. He calls them [25] ανηκοοι και αμελιτητοι; *quite deaf, and averse to all science.* In short, all the Tartarian nations of [26] old seem to have been remarkably rude. But it may be said, that the people spoken of by Pezron and Wise were of Bactria and Margiana. They may place them as they please: still they are no other than the Sacæ Nomades; a Tartarian clan, who from Strabo appear to have been in a continual roving state till they were cut off. But after all, who in their senses would think of looking for the Titans among the Tartars, or deduce all science from the wilds of Margiana? But if these countries had all the learning that ever Egypt or Greece boasted, how was it transmitted to Europe? How could it be derived to us, when so many, and such mighty, nations intervened? We have seen the plan adopted by Pezron; which was found defective from the very authorities to which he appealed: and Wise proceeds upon the same system. These were both in

[25] Procopius. Bell. Goth. l. 4. c. 3. l. 4. c. 19.

[26] I say of old: for there have in later times been some instances to the contrary.

their time respectable persons on account of their learning: but they have certainly lowered themselves by giving into these idle reveries. What can be more fallacious than the notion adopted by [27] Wise, of the antiquity of the Scythians from the height of their ground? *Which height*, he says, *the Scythians urged in their dispute with the Egyptians, as a chief argument of the antiquity of their nation: and the Egyptians, at least other good judges, acquiesced in the proof.* The notion was, according to Justin, from whom it is borrowed, that, as the earth was once overflowed, the higher grounds emerged first, and consequently were first inhabited. And that Scythia was the higher ground, they proved from this, because all the rivers of Scythia descended from the north to the south, and ran towards Egypt. [28] Porro Scythiam adeo editiorem omnibus terris esse, ut cuncta flumina ibi nata in Mæotim, tum deinde in Ponticum, et Ægyptium mare decurrant. What a strange proof is this? and what an argument to be laid before the Egyptians? They lived upon the Nile, and from the same principles might draw a different conclusion. As their river ran in a contrary direction, from south to north, they had the

[27] Religion and Learning of Europe. p. 9.

[28] Justin. l. 2. c. 1.

same reason to [29] insist that Upper Egypt and Ethiopia were the higher grounds, and the more antient countries: and they would be so far in the right, as the earth is certainly higher as we advance towards the equator, than it is towards the poles. As to the Tanaïs running from north to south, and so entering the Palus Mæotis and Pontus Euxinus, it is well known that there are many rivers upon the coast of the Black Sea which run in various and contrary directions; consequently different countries must be equally supereminent, and have the same title to be the most antient, which is absurd and a contradiction. The learned Pezron argues no better, when he tries to shew the similitude which subsisted between the Sacæ and the antient Gauls. He takes notice from Herodotus that the Amyrgian Sacæ wore breeches like the Gauls; and, having observed that they were an enterprising people, and given an account of their dress and arms, he concludes by saying, *We may, upon the whole, find in these Gomarians of Margiana the language, arms, habit, with the restless and warlike spirit of our antient Celtæ. Will any body take upon him to deny that they came originally from this Asiatic nation?* Yet, after all, I cannot assent, for I do not see the re-

[29] The Egyptians did insist upon it. See Diodorus. l. 1. p. 10.

semblance; and the authority upon which I proceed is that of Herodotus, to whom he sends me. This author takes notice both of the Bactrians and the Sacæ. He says that the Bactrians were archers, and used bows made of their country reed or cane, and had short darts. In other respects, they were accoutered like the Medes, who wore tiaras, tunics, and breeches, with a dagger at their girdle. The Sacæ, or Amyrgians, had caps upon their heads which terminated above in a point; they had also breeches. Their chief arms were bows and arrows with a dagger; also battle-axes and sagars. Let us now turn and view the habiliments of the Celtæ, and see if any resemblance subsisted. Their chief weapons, according to Polybius, Livy, and Cæsar, were a long dart, or framea; and a long cutting sword, but pointless; and they used an immense shield, which covered the whole body. They had helmets upon their heads which were ornamented with the wings of a bird for a crest, or else with the horns of some wild animal. To bows and arrows they were strangers, or did but seldom use them. From hence we may see that they were in nothing similar, but breeches and bravery; and of the former they were divested when they fought, for they went into battle naked.

Great respect is certainly due to men of learning, and a proper regard should be paid to their

memory: but they forfeit much of this esteem when they misapply their talents, and put themselves to these shifts to support an hypothesis. They may smile at their reveries, and plume themselves upon their ingenuity in finding out such expedients, but no good can possibly arise from it, for the whole is a fallacy and imposition. And a person who gets out of his depth, and tries to save himself by such feeble supports, is like an ideot drowning without knowing his danger, who laughs, and plunges, and catches at every straw. What I have said in respect to these two learned men will, I hope, be an argument to all those who follow their system.

OF THE

SCYTHÆ, SCYTHIA, SCYTHISMUS,

AND HELLENISMUS:

ALSO OF THE

IONES AND HELLENES OF BABYLONIA;

AND OF THE

HELLENES OF EGYPT.

As we have been for so many ages amused with accounts of Scythia; and several learned moderns, taking advantage of that obscurity in which its history is involved, have spoken of it in a most unwarrantable manner, and extended it to an unlimited degree: it may not be unsatisfactory to inquire what the country originally was; and from whence it received its name. It is necessary first of all to take notice, that there were many regions, in different parts of the world so called,

There was a province in [1] Egypt, and another in Syria, styled Scythia. There was also a Scythia in Asia Minor, upon the Thermodon [2] above Galatia, where the Amazons were supposed to have resided. The country about Colchis, and Iberia; also a great part of Thrace, and Mœsia; and all the Tauric Chersonesus, were styled Scythic. Lastly, there was a country of this name far in the east, of which little notice has been hitherto taken. It was situated upon the great Indic Ocean; and consisted of a widely-extended region, called [3] Scythia Limyrica. But the Scythia spoken of by the antient Greeks, and after them taken notice of by the Romans, consisted of those countries which lay upon the coast of the Euxine; and especially of those upon the north, and north-eastern parts of that sea. In short, it was the region of Colchis, and all that country at the foot of Mount Caucasus, as well as that upon the Palus Mæotis, and the Borysthenes, which was of old esteemed [4] Scythia. As the

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[1] Ptolem. Geog. l. 4. c. 5. p. 121.

[2] Σκυθια ὑπερ την Γαλατιαν. Diod. Sic. l. 5. p. 302.

[3] Arriani Periplus Maris Erythræi.

[4] The people were of Cuthite original; a part of that body which came from Egypt. Αιγυπτιων αποικοι εισιν οἱ Σκυθαι· δια τουτο και μελανοχροας αυτους ειναι λεγουσιν. Schol. in Pindar. Pyth. od. 4. v. 376.

Greeks were ignorant of the part of the world which lay beyond; or had a very imperfect knowledge of it; they often comprehended this too under the same denomination. Many, however, did not extend their ideas so far; but looked upon the coast above-specified to have been the boundary northward of the habitable [5] world. Hence we read of extremum Tanain, ultimam Scythiam, and Καυκασον εσχατοιντα; *Caucasus the boundary of the world.* And although upon the return of the Greeks, who had followed the fortunes of Cyrus the younger, some insight might be supposed to have been gained into those parts; yet it amounted to little in the end; as no correspondence was kept up; and the navigation of the Bosporus was seldom attempted. Hence it happened, that, till the conquests of Lucullus and Pompeius Magnus,

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[5] Αια δε Κολχις
Ποντω και γαιης επικεκλεται εσχατιησιν.
Apollon. Rhod. l. 2. v. 419.

Extremum Tanaïm si biberis, Lyce. Horat. l. 3. od. 10.

Χθονος μεν εις τηλουρον ηκομεν πεδον,
Σκυθην ες οιμον, αβατον εις ερημιαν. Æsch. Prometh. v. 1.

Plato speaks of earth being extended from Gades to the river Pharis. Phædon. p. 109. Herodotus was uncertain where Europe terminated. L. 4. c. 45.

Colchidem Græci, non Homericis solum temporibus, sed pluribus etiam seculis post, orbis nostri ad orientem terminum esse credebant. Vossius de Idolatriâ. l. 1. c. 24. p. 177.

these countries were to the north-east the limits of geographical knowledge: and even of these parts the accounts were very obscure and imperfect. Yet, however unknown they had lain for ages, there was a time when the natives rendered themselves very respectable. For they carried on an extensive commerce; and were superior in science to all the nations in their neighbourhood. But this was long before the dawning of learning in Greece: even before the constitution of many principalities, into which the Hellenic state was divided. They went under the name of Colchians, Iberians, Cimmerians, Hyperboreans, Alani. They got footing in Paphlagonia, upon the Thermodon; where they were called Amazonians, and Alazonians: also in Pieria, and Sithonia, near Mount Hæmus in Thrace. These were properly Scythic nations: but the antients, as I have beforementioned, often included under this name all that lay beyond them; whatever was unknown, even from the Cronian and Atlantic seas one way, to Mount Tabis and the Corean sea the other. [6] Ἁπαντας μεν δε τους προσβορρους κοινως οἱ παλαιοι των Ἑλληνων συγγραφεις Σκυθας και Κελτο-Σκυθας εκαλεν. *The antient writers of Greece used to include all the northern nations in general under the name*

[6] Strabo. l. 11. p. 774.

of Scythians and Celto-Scythians. In this they went too far: yet the Scythic nations were widely extended, and to be met with on very different parts of the globe. As they are represented of the highest antiquity, and of great power; and as they are said to have subdued mighty kingdoms; and to have claimed precedency even of the Egyptians; it will be worth our while to inquire into the history of this wonderful people; and to sift out the truth, if possibly it may be attained. Let us then try to investigate the origin of the people denominated Scythians, and explain the purport of their name. The solution of this intricate problem will prove of the highest importance; as we shall thereby be able to clear up many dark circumstances in antiquity: and it will serve for the basis of the system upon which I proceed. To me then it appears very manifest, that what was termed by the Greeks Σκυθα, Σκυθια, Σκυθικα, was originally Cutha, Cuthia, Cuthica; and related to the family of Chus. He was called by the Babylonians and Chaldeans, Cuth; and his posterity Cuthites and Cutheans. The countries where they at times [7] settled, were uniformly denomina-

[7] Cusistan in Persis was called Cutha, or the land of Cuth. See Joseph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 14. p. 507.

ted from them. But what was properly styled Cutha, the Greeks expressed with a [s] sigma prefixed; which, however trifling it may appear, has been attended with fatal consequences. Whence this mode of expression arose is uncertain: it has universally obtained; and has very much confounded the history of antient times, and of this people in particular. In short the mistake reaches in its consequences much farther than we may at first apprehend; and being once detected will be the means of explaining many difficulties which cannot otherwise be solved; and a wonderful light will be thrown on the remoter parts of history.

As the Scythic colonies were widely dispersed,

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[s] So Ὕλη was by the Latines rendered Sylva; ἑπτα, septem; ἑρπω, serpo; and from ἁλς, ἁλος of Greece was formed sal, and salum. The river Indus was often called Sindus. Indus ab incolis Sindus appellatur. Plin. N. H. l. 6. p. 319. Ur of Chaldea was styled Sur, Σουρ: and it is so rendered by Syncellus. Εν χωρᾳ των Χαλδαιων, ἡ Σουρ τῃ πολει. p. 95. The Elli, those priests of the sun at Dodona, were called Selli. The Alpes Cottiæ are by Procopius styled Σεκουιαι. De Bello Goth. l. 2. p. 457. And Lycophron, speaking of the Alps in general, instead of Αλπια ορη, calls them Σαλπια, Salpia.

Και Σαλπιων βιβωσαν εχθηρων σταγων. v. 1361.

This letter is used by the Welch as an aspirate: and has, undoubtedly, been introduced by many nations for the same purpose.

I will take them in their turns, and shew that they were all of them Cuthic; that the people upon the Indus were of the same origin as those upon the Phasis and Thermodon; and that the natives of Bætica in Iberia were related to both. That the Bœotians and Athenians were in a great measure Cuthian, I have endeavoured already to prove; and what I term Cuthian, was by them undoubtedly styled Scythian. Hence Anacharsis the Hyperborean plainly maintained that the Athenians were apparently Scythic; which national characteristic he must have observed in their language and manners. [9] Εμοι δε, φησιν ὁ Αναχαρσις, παντες Ἑλληνες σκυθιζουσι. In all other countries, where this people settled, a like similitude will be found in their rites and customs, and a great correspondence in their original history, and all this attended with a manifest analogy in the names of persons and places, and in the language of each nation, as far as we can arrive.

It may be said, if by Σκυθια, Scythia, we are to understand Cuthia, and by Σκυθαι, Cuthai or Cutheans, the same should obtain in all histories of this people; for the like mistake would be observable in the accounts transmitted in the accounts of Chaldea and Babylonia, whence this people first came, as well as in those of Egypt,

[9] Clem. Alexandr. Strom. l. 1. p. 364.

where they for a long time resided: and, upon inquiry, we shall find this to have been the case. Chus was by the Babylonians styled Cuth, and the country of his posterity Cutha. His sons were the first rebels upon record. The building of the Tower called Babel is supposed to have been effected under their direction: for Babel was the place of habitation, where their imperious prince Nimrod, who was called Alorus and Orion, resided. [10] *The beginning of his kingdom*, we are told by Moses, *was Babel.* In consequence of this it may be urged, that *if the Cutheans of Colchis or Greece are styled* Σκυθαι, *the same name should be sometimes found attributed to those of Babylonia and Chaldea.* It is no more than we ought to expect; and we shall find that the natives of these countries are expressly so called. Epiphanius, who has transmitted to us a most curious epitome of the whole Scythic history, gives them this very appellation. [11] Απο δε τȣ κλιματος τȣ προς Ευρωπην εις Ασιαν κεκλικοτες επωνομασθησαν παντες κατα την χρονȣ επικλησιν ΣΚΥΘΑΙ· κτιζȣσι δε την Πυργοποιϊαν, και οικοδομȣσι την Βαβυλωνα. *Those nations, which reach southward from that part of the world, where the two great continents of Europe and Asia incline to each other, and are*

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[10] Genes. c. 10. v. 10.

[11] Epiphanius adversus Hæres. l. 1. p. 6.

connected, were universally styled [12] *Scythæ, according to an appellation of long standing. These were of that family who of old erected the great tower* (called Babel), *and who built the city Babylon.* This is the plain purport of the history, from whence we learn expressly that the Scythians were the Cuthians, and came from Babylonia. The works in which they were engaged, and the person from whom they were denominated, in short the whole of their history, past all controversy, prove it. They were the same as the Chaldaïc Iönim under a different name. [13] Ιωνες δε τουτων αρχηγοι γεγενηνται, ως ὁ ακριβης εχει λογος, απο τε Ιωναν, ἑνος ανδρος των τον Πυργον οικοδομησαντων, ὁτε δι γλωσσαι διεμεριστθησαν των ανθρωπων. *The Ions were the leaders of this people according to the best information. They were descendants of one Ion or Ionah, who was concerned in the building of the tower when the language of mankind was confounded.* Thus we may observe what light the histories of

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[12] The author supposes that all mankind were occupied in the building of the tower; and hence seems to think that all families were Scythic. But this is a great mistake. The Cuthites were the people principally engaged in that work; and they are the family who are alluded to under the name of Σκυθαι. It was a particular and national appellation, and could not be appropriated to all mankind.

[13] Chron. Paschale. p. 49. Eusebii Chron. p. 7.

different nations, if duly compared, reflect upon each other. Like evidence may be obtained from other parts of Epiphanius, where it is manifest that the term Scythic is a misnomer for Cuthic. In describing the first ages of the world he tells us that, to the time of Serug, the seventh from Noah, there continued a Scythian succession, and that the Scythian name was prevalent. [14] Ἑως τετε (Σερυχ) εμεινε Σκυθικη τις διαδοχη και επικλησις; meaning that this period was esteemed the Scythian age. The same piece of history is to be found in Eusebius, and other writers, some of whom were prior to [15] Epiphanius. Now I think it cannot be doubted, but that in the original history, whence this was taken, it was Κυθικη τις διαδοχη *a Cuthic succession*; και Κυθικη επικλησις, *and it was the Cuthic name by which that period was marked.* Σκυθισμος, says this author in another place, απο τε κατακλυσμε αχρι τε Πυργε; *from the deluge to the erecting of the tower Scythism prevailed.* This notation is perhaps carried too far back; but the meaning is plain; and what he alludes to is certainly Cuthismus, Κυθισμος. The purport of the passage teaches, that from the time

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[14] Epiphanius adv. Hæres. l. 1. p. 8. also l. 1. p. 9. See also his Respons. ad Achaium et Paulum. p. 8. 9.

[15] Eusebii Chronicon. p. 13.

of the deluge to the construction of the tower was esteemed the Cuthic age. It was for the most part a period of usurpation and tyranny under the sons of Chus, which was in a great degree put a stop to at the dispersion; at least the intention of keeping mankind together, and constituting one great empire was prevented: for this seems to have been the design of the Cuthians and their leader.

Some of the antient fathers, from terms ill understood, divided the first ages into three or more epochas, and have distinguished them by as many characteristics: [16] Βαρβαρισμος, Barbarismus, which is supposed to have preceded the flood; Σκυθισμος, Scuthismus, of which I have been speaking; and [17] Ἑλληνισμος, Hellenismus, or the Grecian period. This last must appear as extraordinary as any.

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[16] Αἱ δὲ τῶν αἱρεσεων πασων μητερες τε καὶ προκριτοι καὶ ονομαστοι εἰσιν αὐται, Βαρβαρισμος, Σκυθισμος, Ἑλληνισμος, Ιουδαϊσμος. Chron. Paschale. p. 23. This author makes Barbarismus precede the deluge: Scythismus comes after. ΣΚΥΘΙΣΜΟΣ ἀπο των ἡμερων τῦ Νωε μετα τον κατακλυσμον αχρι της τῦ Πυργῦ οικοδομης και Βαβυλωνος· και μετα τον χρονον της τῦ Πυργῦ οικοδομης ἐπ' ολιγοις ἐτεσιν, τῦτ' ἐστιν ἑως Ῥαγαῦ· ὑστερον δὲ Ἑλληνισμος κ.τ.λ. Chron. Pasch. p. 49.

[17] Απο δὲ τῦ Σερυχ ἑως τῦ Αβρααμ καὶ δευρο, Ἑλληνισμος. Epiphan. l. 1. p. 9. Σερυχ, ὁτις πρωτος ἠρξατο τῦ Ἑλληνισμῦ. Euseb. Chron. p. 13. In like manner, a fourth heresy is supposed to have arisen, styled Judaïsmus, before the time of either Jews or Israelites.

For how was it possible for an Hellenic æra to have existed before the name of Hellas was known, or the nation in being? This arose, like the preceding, from a mistake in terms, the word being warped from its original purport and direction. The Cuseans, or Cuthites, were the first apostates from the truth; of which defection I have before taken notice. They introduced the worship of the sun, that great fountain of light; and paid the like reverence to the stars, and all the host of heaven. They looked upon them as fountains, from whence were derived to men the most salutary [18] emanations. This worship was styled the fountain worship. The Grecians, just as they styled the Bay of Fountains on the Red Sea Elanites, from El Ain, might have called this characteristic of the times Ελανισμος, Elanismus. But such a change would not satisfy them. They made some farther alteration, and rendered it, according to the Ionic dialect, Ελληνισμος, Hellenismus with an aspirate, and made it, by these means, relate to their own country. One of the titles of the Cusean shepherds, who came into Egypt, was taken from this worship, and derived

[18] Concerning fountain worship, or derivative virtues, see Psellus and Jamblichus; and Stanley upon the Chaldaïc Religion. El-ain, Solis fons; the fountain of the sun.

from El Ain, the fountain of light, which they worshipped. But the Greeks expressed this after the same manner as the above; whence they are, by many writers, styled [19] Ποιμενες Ἑλληνες, *Hellenic or Grecian shepherds.* They were truly El-Anes, and by race Cuthites. Many of them settled in Armenia, and at Colchis, and also upon the Palus Mæotis. They are taken notice of under this name by [20] Claudian:

——— patriamque bibens Mæotida Alanus.

Procopius mentions, that all the nations about Caucasus, which we know to have been Cuthites, as far as the Portæ Caucaseæ, were comprehended under the name of [21] Alani.

Some have thought that this distinction of times, taken notice of by the ecclesiastical writers, was owing to some expressions of St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Colossians. [22] Ὁπου οκ ενι Ἑλλην, και Ἰουδαιος· περιτομη και ακροβυστια· Βαρβαρος, Σκυθης· δουλος,

[19] Ἐκκαιδεκατη δυναστεια, Ποιμενες Ἑλληνες. Syncellus. p. 61.

[20] In Rufin. l. 1. v. 312.

[21] Ταυτην δε την χωραν, ἡ εξ ορους τε Καυκασιου αχρι ες τας Κασπιας κατατεινει πυλας, Αλανοι εχουσι. Procop. Goth. Hist. l. 4. c. 3. p. 570. This comprehends all the country of Iberia, Colchis, and Circassia.

[22] Coloss. c. 3. v. 11.

ελευθερος· αλλα τα παντα, και εν πασι Χριστος. *Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision; Barbarian, Scythian; bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all.* The Apostle plainly alludes to those invidious distinctions which subsisted among men; but what the fathers mention concerns the division of times, and the characters by which different epochas were distinguished. Some writers, however, have gone farther, and from the words of St. Paul have added Judaïsmus, introducing it in the first ages, to which it could not possibly belong. For how could Judaïsm subsist before there was either Jew or Israelite? In short, they have brought in succession, and at different æras, what the Apostle speaks of as subsisting together at the same time, even in the age wherein he lived.

Hellenismus, however, which led the way to these distinctions, was of antient date. The first innovation in religion was called by this name; which had no relation to Greece, being far prior to Hellas, and to the people denominated from it. Though it began among the Cuthites in Chaldea, yet it is thought to have arisen from some of the family of Shem, who resided among that people. Epiphanius accordingly tells us, that *Ragem, or Ragau, had for his son Seruch, when idolatry and Hellenismus first be-*

gan among men. [23] Ραγαμ γεννᾳ τον Σερεχ, και ηρξατο εις ανθρωπους ἡ εἰδωλολατρεια τε, και ὁ Ἑλληνισμος. By this we are only informed that idolatry and Hellenismus began in the days of Seruch: but Eusebius and other writers mention, that he was the author of this apostasy. [24] Σερεχ, ὁσις πρωτος ηρξατο τε Ἑλληνισμε. *Seruch was the first who introduced the false worship, called Hellenismus.* Some attribute also to him the introduction of [25] images; but most give this innovation to his grandson Terah. [26] Ναχωρ δε γεννᾳ τον Θαρρα, εντευθεν γεγονεν ανδριαντοπλασια—δια της τε Θαρρε τεχνης. *Nachor begat Tharah; and in his time were introduced images for worship, which were first framed by his art.*

It is observable that Johannes Antiochenus styles the people of Midian Hellenes; and speaking of Moses, who married the daughter of Jethro, the Cuthite, the chief priest of [27] Midian,

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[23] Hæres. l. 1. c. 6. p. 7.

[24] Eusebii Chron. p. 13. See Chron. Paschale, and Syncellus. p. 94. 95. Some suppose this innovation to have been introduced about the death of Peleg. Επι την τε Φαλεχ τελευτην ετη τρισχιλια· ενθεν αρχην των Ἑλληνικων Θεων λαμβανυσι τα ονοματα. Cedrenus. p. 15.

[25] Σερυχ δε πρωτος ηρξατο χρησθαι γλυπτοις και πλαις, αγδοος απογονος τε Νωε τε δικαιε. Constant. Manasses. p. 21.

[26] Epiphanius. l. 1. p. 7.

[27] Exodus. c. 2. v. 16.

he represents the woman, [28] την θυγατερα Ιοθορ της αρχιερεως των Ελληνων, *as the daughter of Jother, the high-priest of the Hellenes.* This is not so culpable as I have sometimes thought it. It is to be observed, that the people of Midian lived upon the upper and eastern recess of the Red Sea, where was a city called El Ain, the Elana of [29] Ptolemy, and Ailane of Josephus. It happens, that there are in the opposite recess fountains, which retain the name of El Ain at this day; and they are likewise called by the Arabs Ain Mosh, or the fountains of Moses. Hence each bay has been at times called Sinus Elanites, which has caused some confusion in the accounts given of these parts. The nether recess had certainly its name from the celebrated fountains of Moses, which ran into it; but the bay on the other side was denominated from the people who there [30] settled. They were Cuthites, of the same race as the Ionim and Hellenes of Babylonia, from which country they

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[28] P. 76. 77.

[29] Ηδε Ελανα κατα μυχον κειμενη της ομωνυμου κολπου. Ptolem. l. 5. c. 17. p. 162.

Ου πορρω Αιλανης πολεως. Joseph. Ant. l. 8. c. 2. p. 437.

Αιλανη πολις Αραβιας. Steph. Byzant. Αιλας. Procop. Persica. l. 1. c. 19.

[30] The bay is now called Bahhr al Akaba. See Description d'Arabie par Mons. Niebuhr. 1773. p. 345.

came. They built the city Elana, and were called [31] Hellenes, from the great luminary which they worshipped, and to which their city was sacred. In the days of Moses the whole world seems to have been infected with the rites of the Zabians: and Jethro, the Cuthite, was probably high-priest of this order, whose daughter Moses [32] married. The very first idolatry consisted in worshipping the luminary El Ain, which worship was accordingly styled Hellenismus. El Ain signifies Sol Fons, *the fountain of light;* and Ulpian upon Demosthenes seems to have had some intimation of this etymology; for he explains the term ἑλληνικωτατον by [33] καθαρωτατον and ειλικρινεςατον, *something very pure and clear*, like a fountain. Hesychius also intimates, that the name related to the [34] fountain of day; and in a secondary sense to the fountain of wisdom. Ἑλληνες, οἱ απο τȣ Διος τȣ Ἑλληνος· ἡ φρονιμοι, ἠτοι σοφοι. *The people styled Hellenes are the descendants of Hellen, the son of Zeuth; and by this title are denoted people of intelligent and*

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[31] The people still retain their primitive name Ellanes. Dr. Pocock expresses it Allauni. *The Arabs about Acaba are called Allauni.* Pocock's Egypt. p. 138.

[32] Exodus. c. 2. v. 16. Numbers. c. 12. v. 1.

[33] P. 118.

[34] Ειλη, ἡ τȣ ἡλιȣ αυγη. Hesych.

enlightened minds. Hellen was the same as Ion; the same also as Helius, Osiris, and Apollo; by which titles was signified the Deity of light and of science.

From Babylonia the Hellenes came into Egypt; and were the same as the Auritæ, those Cuthite shepherds who so long held that country in subjection. Hence we read of [35] Ποιμενες Ἑλληνες, and [36] Βασιλεις Ἑλληνες, *Hellenic shepherds*, and *Hellenic princes*, who reigned in the infancy of that nation. They were what I term collectively Amonians, being the descendants of Ham, who by the Gentile writers was reputed the first-born of Deucalion, or Noah. [37] Γινονται δε εκ Πυῤῥας Δευκαλιωνι παιδες, Ἑλλην μεν πρωτος, ὁν εκ Διος ενιοι γεγενησθαι λεγουσι—Θυγατηρ δε Πρωτογενεια. *Hellen was the first-born of Deucalion by Pyrrha, though some make him the son of Zeuth, or Dios.—There was also a daughter Protogeneia,* so named from being the

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[35] Africanus apud Syncellum. p. 61.

[36] Syncellus. ibid.

[37] Apollodorus. l. 1. p. 20.

Απο Ἑλληνος τυ Δευκαλιωνος Ἑλληνες. Syncellus. p. 157. Ἑλλας, ἡν ὁ Διος Ἑλλην εκτισεν. Dicæarchus. Geog. Gr. Vol. p. 22. Strabo. l. 8. p. 587. Ἑλλην τυ Δευκαλιωνος. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3. Προμηθεως και Πυῤῥας Ἑλλην. Schol. in Apollon. l. 3. v. 1086. Strabo mentions the tomb of Hellen; ταφον τυ Ἑλληνος τυ Δευκαλιωνος υἱυ, και Πυῤῥας. l. 9. p. 660.

first-born of women. He was also said to have been the son of Prometheus; but in this there is no inconsistency, for they were all titles of the same personage, whose son was [38] Ham, represented both as Hellen and Helius. The Cuthite Hellenes, who came into Egypt, introduced their arts and learning, by which that country was benefited greatly. Hence the learning of Egypt was styled Hellenic, from the Hellenic shepherds; and the antient theology of the country was said to have been described in the [39] Hellenic character and language. This had no relation to the Hellenes of Greece, being, as I have before observed, far prior to that nation. The Grecians, it is true, were both Iönim and Hellenes, but by a long descent, being the posterity of the people here spoken of. This theology was said to have been derived from [40] Agathodæmon, that benign deity, the benefactor of all mankind. He was supposed to have had a renewal of life, and on that account was represented under the figure of a serpent

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[38] חם, Sol.

[39] Manethon apud Euseb. Chron. p. 6.

[40] Syncellus. p. 40. The history was supposed to have been by him translated *after the deluge*, μετα τον κατακλυσμον, *from* της ἱερας διαλεκτου εις την Ἑλληνιδα φωνην, *from the sacred language into the Hellenic;* by which must be meant the antient Chaldaïc.

crowned with the lotus, and styled [41] Noë Agathodæmon. The Grecians supposed, that by the Hellenic tongue was meant the language of Greece, and that the Hellenic characters were the letters of their own country. But these writings were in reality sculptures of great antiquity; and the language was the Cuthite, styled by [42] Manethon the sacred language of Egypt.

Philo Judæus not being apprised of this, has been guilty of a great mistake in his Life of Moses. For, mentioning how that great personage had been instructed in his youth, and that he was skilled in all the learning of Egypt, in numbers, geography, and hieroglyphics, he adds, that the rest of the circle of sciences he learned of the Hellenes, or Grecians: [43] την δε αλλην εγκυκλιον παιδειαν Ελληνες εδιδαξαν: as if the circle of sciences had been established, and the Greeks were adepts in philosophy so early as the time of Moses. The Hellenes, who were supposed to have instructed the Patriarch, were undoubtedly

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[41] The name of Noe the Greeks transposed, and expressed it Νεο Αγαθοδαιμων. See vol. iii, p. 182. in the plate where the Patriarch is described under the symbol of a serpent, with the emblems of plenty and peace. Agathodæmon was the same as Cneph. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 41.

[42] Joseph. contra Apion. l. 1. p. 445.

[43] In Vitâ Mosis. v. 2. p. 84.

an order of priests in Egypt; which order had been instituted before the name of Hellas, or the Helladians, had been heard of. Stephanus mentions, from Aristagoras, a place called Hellenicon (Ἑλληνικον) at Memphis; and says, that the persons, who resided there were stiled [44] Helleno-Memphitæ. Clemens Alexandrinus has transmitted the same account concerning Moses, as has been given above by Philo. [45] Την δε αλλην εγκυκλιον παιδειαν Ἑλληνες εδιδασκον εν Αιγυπτῳ ὡς αν βασιλικον παιδιον. *The Hellenes educated him in Egypt as a princely child; and instructed him in the whole circle of sciences.* These writers have certainly mistaken the history, from whence they borrowed. It did not relate to Greece, but to the Hellenes of Egypt; those Helleno-Memphitæ of Stephanus and Aristagoras. When Clemens therefore tells us concerning Moses, Οι Ἑλληνες εδιδασκον εν Αιγυπτῳ, *The Hellenes taught him in Egypt:* it should be rendered, Οι Ἑλληνες εν Αιγυπτῳ εδιδασκον, *The Hellenes of Egypt taught him;* for such, we may be assured, was the purport of the original and true history; and this may be proved by the account given of Osiris, of whom it is said, that

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[44] Ἑλληνικον και Καφικον τοποι εν Μεμφιδι, αφ' ὡν Ἑλληνομεμφιται και Καφομεμφιται, ὡς Αριστογορας. Steph. Byzant.

[45] Strom. l. 1. p. 413.

after his travels over the earth, he instituted religious rites, and founded schools of eloquence in Egypt. Of these he made Hermes professor, who instructed the [46] Hellenes in that science. This was many ages before the supposed arrival of Danaus; or of Cadmus, in Greece; consequently these Hellenes could have no relation to that country. They were undoubtedly an order of priests, the same as are said to have instructed Moses. The history was certainly true, though the persons have been mistaken. Zoroaster is by Ebn Batrick styled Iüna-Hellen, and said to have been the author of the Zabian worship, which commenced about the time that the tower of Babel was erected. [47] Autumant autem nonnulli, primum religionis Sabiorum auctorem fuisse Græcum (Hellenem) quendam nomine Iünam.—Fertur etiam illum, qui primus Sabiorum religionem instituit, ex eorum numero fuisse, qui turri Babelis extruendæ adfuerunt. According to Dicæarchus the great Sesostris was a favourer of [48] Hellenism.

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[45] Και τυς Ἕλληνας διδαξαι τυτον τα περι την Ἑρμηνειαν. Diodorus, l. 1. p. 15.

[47] Vol. 1. p. 63. from the Latin version.

[48] Και Ἑλληνικω βιω Σεσογχωσιδι μεμιληκεναι. Schol. in Apollon. l. 4. v. 273.

From what has been said, it appears plainly that the Hellenes and Iönes were the same people under different appellations. They were the descendants of Hellen and Iön, two names of the same personage, among whose sons idolatry first began in the region of Babylonia. He was styled Iön, Iönan, Iönichus, and was supposed to have been the author of magic. From him the Babylonians had the name of Iönim, as well as of Hellenes; for these terms were used as in some degree synonymous. Hence when the sacred writer mentions people's flying from the weapons of the [49] Iönim, or Babylonians, it is very truly rendered by the Seventy *from the Hellenic sword*: [50] Αναςωμεν, και αναςρεψωμεν προς τον λαον ημων εις την πατριδα ημων, απο προσωπε μαχαιρας Ἑλληνικης. *Arise, and let us go again to our own people, and to the land of our nativity, from the* HELLENIC *sword.* The like expression is to be found in the same version, and of the same prophet: [51] Απο προσωπε μαχαιρας Ἑλληνικης εκαςος εις τον λαον αυτε αποςρεψει, και εκαςος εις την γην αυτε φευξεται. *From the sword of the* HELLENES *they shall turn every one to his own people, and they shall flee every one to his own*

[49] חרב יונה, *the sword of the Ionah.*

[50] Jeremiah. c. 46. v. 16.

[51] Ibid. c. 50. v. 16. See vol. iii. p. 138. of this work.

land. In each instance the words in the original are *the sword of* יונה, *Iönah:* by which are meant the Iönim or Babylonians. The same worship of which the Hellenes are said to have been the authors, is attributed to the Iönim, the sons of Iönah. [52] Ιωνες δε, οι εκ της Ιας, των Ἑλληνων αρχηγοι γεγονοτες, τοις ξοανοις προσεκυνουν. *The Ionim, the reputed sons of Iönah, who became the head of the Hellenes, introduced the adoration of images.* They also introduced Zabaïsm, as is mentioned by the same [53] author; and worshipped the celestial constellations. The person, from whom the Hellenes had their name, was Hellen, the same as Cham, the son of Noah. [54] Ἑλλην υιος Δευκαλιωνος. *Hellen was the son of the person who escaped the flood.* The Iönes were from the same personage, under a different title.

Such was the first heresy in the world, which was styled Hellenismus; and such the Hellenes, by whom it was propagated. They were dissipated from Babylonia, and passed into Egypt; and betook themselves to Syria, Rhodes, and Hellas; and many other countries. Many traces of them are to be found in Syria; where particularly is to

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[52] Euseb. Chron. p. 13.

[53] Ιωνες τυς κατ' Ουρανον φωτηρας διεποιουμενοι. Ibid. See also Cedrenus. p. 46.

[54] Euseb. Chron. p. 28.

be observed a city, which from them must have had its name. Stephanus, speaking of places called Hellas, tells us, Εστι και αλλη πολις Ἑλλας Κοιλης Συριας· το εθνικον Ἑλλην. *There is also another city Hellas in Coile Syria. The Gentile derivative, or possessive, is Hellen.* There were Hellenes at Rhodes; the same as the Heliadæ, of whom [56] Diodorus Siculus makes mention. They seem to have been the first who peopled that island. Those Hellenes, who settled at Dodona, were the first of the name among the Helladians, and from them it became at last universal. They had also the name of Elli, and Selli, and were properly priests of the oracle, which they brought from Thebes in Egypt. [57] Ἑλλοι· Ἑλληνες, οἱ εν Δωδωνῃ, και οἱ ἱερεις· Ελλα (it should be Ελλαν) Διος ἱερον εν Δωδωνῃ. *The Elli are the same as the Hellenes at Dodona: and the priests of the place have the same name. Ellan is the name of the temple dedicated to Jupiter at Dodona.* The like is said by [58] Aristotle and [59] Strabo. Of this people I shall say more when I come to the Iönah-Hellenic colonies of Greece.

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[56] Την δε νησον ταυτην τοτε κατωκουν Ἑλληνες. l. 4. p. 26.

[57] Hesych. Elli and Selli are terms of the same purport, being derived from El and Sel, two names of the sun. What the Grecians rendered Hellas, would have been expressed more truly Hellan.

[58] Meteorolog. l. 1. c. 14. p. 772.

[59] L. 7. p. 505.

OF THE

GOLDEN AGE,

OR

AGE OF THE CUTHIM.

I HAVE taken notice of the manner in which the first ages of the world were distinguished: and I have shewn, that Scythismus and Hellenismus were mistaken terms: that they were not the characteristics of times in succession, as many of the learned fathers have supposed; but related each to nearly one particular season, the age of Chus; and to the worship introduced by his sons. The Golden age of the poets took its rise from a mistake of the same nature: which mistake being once established, a Silver, a Brazen, and an Iron Age, were in consequence of it added. What was termed Γενος Χρυσεον and Χρυσειον, should have been expressed Χδσεον and Χυσειον: for it relates to the same æra, and history, as the terms before-

mentioned; to the age of Chus, and to the domination of his sons. It is described as a period of great happiness: and the persons to whom that happiness is attributed, are celebrated as superior to the common race of men: and upon that account, after their death, they were advanced to be Deities.

[1] Χρυσεον μεν πρωτιστα γενος μεροπων ανθρωπων
Αθανατοι ποιησαν, Ολυμπια δωματ' εχοντες·
Οι μεν επι Κρονε ησαν, ὁτ' ουρανῳ εμβασιλευεν.
Ὡστε Θεοι δ' εζωον ακηδεα θυμον εχοντες,
Νοσφιν ατερτε πονων και οϊζυος· ουδε τι δειλον
Γηρας επην· κτλ.
Αυταρ επει κεν τουτο γενος κατα γαια καλυψε,
Τοι μεν Δαιμονες εισι Διος μεγαλε δια βουλας,
Εσθλοι, επιχθονιοι, φυλακες θνητων ανθρωπων·
Οι ῥα φυλασσουσιν τε δικας, και σχετλια εργα.

The Immortals first a *Golden* race produced:
These liv'd, when Saturn held the realms of heaven;
And pass'd their time like Gods, without a care.
No toil they knew, nor felt solicitude;
Not e'en the infirmities of age—
Soon as this race was sunk beneath the grave;

[1] Hesiod. Εργα και Ἡμερ. l. 1. v. 109.

Jove rais'd them to be Dæmons of the air,
Spirits benign, and guardians of mankind,
Who sternly right maintain, and sorely punish wrong.

We have in this short account a just history of the rise of idolatry, when deified men had first divine honours paid to them: and we may be assured of the family in which it began. The antients had a high notion of this Golden, or Cusean age; and always speak of it with great deference, as a time of uncommon equity and happiness. They indeed take into the account the æra of patriarchal government, when all the world was as yet one family, and under the mild rule of the head of mankind. Aratus says, that this was the season when Astræa, or Justice, appeared personally in the world.

* Τοφρ' ην, οφρ' ετι γαια Γενος Χρυσειον εφερβεν.

She stay'd, while yet the Race of Gold surviv'd.

And he laments, that those excellent persons, who then flourished, should have been succeeded by a posterity so degenerate and base.

* Phænom. v. 113.

[3] Ὁίην Χρυσειοι Πατερες γενεην ελιπόντο
Χειροτερην ;

What an unworthy and degenerate race
Our Golden Sires bequeath'd ?

By this we find, that not only a particular age, but also persons were styled Χρυσειοι, or Golden. Those who came into Greece, and built the temple at Olympia, are represented as [4] Χρυσεην γενος, a Golden Race: by which is certainly meant Cusoan or Cusean. But however this people may have been celebrated, they were the first idolaters, who introduced a plurality of Gods, and made other innovations in life. [5] Αιθιοπες—πρωτοι δε Θεους ετιμησαν, και νομοις εχρησαντο. *The Æthiopes, or Cuthites, were the first who paid honours to more Gods than one, and who enacted laws.*

The Grecians by rendering what should be Cusean, Χρυσειον, Crusean, have been led still farther in characterising the times: and to this supposed Golden Age, which they have embellished with many fictions, they have added an

[3] Phænom. v. 123.
[4] Pausan. l. 5. p. 391.
[5] Steph. Byzantin.

age of Silver, and of Brass, and of Iron. In the first of these periods the poet manifestly alludes to the longevity of persons in the patriarchic age: for they did not, it seems, die at threescore and ten, but took more time even in advancing towards puberty.

[6] Αλλ' ἑκατον μεν παις ετεα παρα μητερι κεδνη
Ἐτρεφετ' αταλλων μεγα νηπιος ᾧ ενι οικῳ.

In early times, for full an hundred years
The fostering mother, with an anxious eye,
Cherish'd at home the unwieldy backward boy.

He speaks, however, of their being cut off in their prime: and whatever portion of life Nature might have allotted to them, they were abridged of it by their own folly and injustice; for they were guilty of rapine and bloodshed, and in a continual state of hostility.

[7] Αλλ' ὁταν ηβησεις, και ηβης μετρον ἱκωντο,
Παυριδιον ζωεσκον επι χρονον, αλγε' ἐχοντες,
Ἀφραδιαις· ὑβριν γαρ ατασθαλον ουκ εδυναντο
Αλληλων απεχειν.

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[6] Hesiod. Ἐργα και Ἡμερ. l. 1. v. 130.
[7] Ibid. v. 132.

Soon to the term of blooming youth they came,
But did not long survive it: their short life
Was a sad scene of misery, brought on
By mutual acts of insult.

They were at the same time highly irreligious, and great contemners of the Gods; and for that reason removed from all commerce with other beings.

[8] Τους μεν επειτα
Ζευς Κρονιδης εκρυψε, χολωμενος ανεκα τιμας
Ουκ εδιδυν μακαρεσσι Θεοις, οι Ολυμπον εχουσιν.

This race Jove soon consign'd to endless night;
Vex'd, that due honours they should dare refuse
To the great Gods, who high Olympus hold.

Yet what is extraordinary, when they were, through the anger of the offended Gods, swept away from the face of the earth, they were made subordinate Deities, and great reverence was shewed to them: [9] Τιμη και τοισιν οπηδει: *These too had their share of honour.*

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[8] Hesiod. v. 137.

[9] Τοι μεν υποχθονιοι Μακαρες θνητοι καλεονται,
Δευτεροι· αλλ' εμπης τιμη και τοισιν οπηδει. v. 141.

The third age, styled the Brazen, was like the former: only, to diversify it a little, the poets supposed that there was now a more regular process of war. They had now, it seems, brazen arms, and brazen houses; and every implement was of brass. This race is said to have been quite different from those of the Silver Age; [10] ἐκ ἀργυρεω ἠδην ὁμοιον. Yet I cannot see wherein the difference consisted. The former were guilty of violence and bloodshed; and slew one another so fast, that they scarce attained the age of manhood. The latter had the same love for war; and fell in like manner by each other's hand, so that not one survived.

[11] Και τοι μεν χειρεσσιν ὑπο σφετερησι δαμεντες
Βησαν ες ευρωεντα δομον κρυερε Αϊδαο,
Νωνυμοι.

This race engag'd in deadly feuds, and fell
Each by his brother's hand. They sunk in fight,

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[10] Ζευς δε πατηρ τριτον αλλο γενος μεροπων ανθρωπων
Χαλκειον ποιησ', ὐκ αργυρῳ ἠδην ὁμοιον. v. 143.

See Aratus of the Golden Age, and of those succeeding. Phænom. v. 108. Also Ovid. Metamorph. l. 1. v. 89.

[11] Hesiod supra. v. 151?

All to the shades of Erebus consign'd,
Their name forgotten.

After these came another Age, by most poets called the Iron; but by Hesiod mentioned as the Heroïc, or Age of Demigods; and described as a time of great justice and [12] piety. Yet these heroes, whose equity is so much spoken of, upon a nearer inquiry are found to be continually engaged in wars and murders: and, like the specimens exhibited of the former Ages, these are finally cut off by one another's hands, in acts of robbery and violence: some for purloining oxen; others for stealing sheep; and many for carrying away the wives of their friends and neighbours.

[13] Και τȣς μεν πολεμος τε κακος, και φυλοπις αινη,
Τȣς μεν εφ' επταπυλῳ Θηβῃ, Καδμηϊδι γαιῃ,
Ωλεσε μαρναμενȣς μηλων ενεκ' Οιδιποδαο·
Τȣς δε και εν νηεσσιν υπερ μεγα λαιτμα θαλασσης
Ες Τροιην αγαγων Ελληνης ενεκ' ηυκομοιο.
Ενθ' ητοι τȣς μεν θανατȣ τελος αμφεκαλυψε.

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[12] Αυθις ετ' αλλο τεταρτος επι χθονι πȣλυβοτειρῃ
Ζευς Κρονιδης ποιησε δικαιοτερον, και αρειον. v. 156.
Hesiod makes the Iron Age the fifth in succession.

[13] Hesiod. Εργα και Ημερ. l. 1. v. 161.

In battle some were carried off; and fell
At Thebes, renown'd for its seven tow'ring gates,
The seat of Cadmus: here they sternly strove
Against th' Œdipodæ for their flocks and herds.
Some passed the seas, and sought the Trojan shore:
There joined in cruel conflict for the sake
Of Helen, peerless dame: till their sad fate
Sunk them to endless night.

In like manner it is said of the hero Cycnus, that he robbed people of their cattle, as they went to Delphi: whence he was called Κυκνος λῃστης. He, like the [14] rest, was slain in fight, having rashly encountered Hercules. Such was the end of these laudable banditti: of whom Jupiter, we are told, had so high an opinion, that after they had plundered and butchered one another, he sent them to the Islands of the Blessed, to partake of perpetual felicity.

[13] Καὶ τοι μεν ναιεσκον, ἀκηδεα θυμον ἐχοντες,

[14] Hesiod. Ασπις Ἡρακλ. v. 478.

[15] Ibid. Ἐργα και Ἡμερ. l. 1. v. 170.

Εν Μακαρων νησοισι παρ' ωκεανον βαθυδινην,
Ολβιοι Ἡρωες.

These, freed from grief and every mortal care,
And wafted far to th' ocean's verge extreme,
Rove uncontroul'd amid the Happy Isles,
Illustrious heroes.

We have here seen four divisions of times: in some of which the poet has endeavoured to make a distinction, though no material difference subsists. And as these times are supposed to be in succession, he has brought the last period as low as the æra of Troy. The whole relates to a series of history, very curious and interesting; but ruined, by being diversified, and in a manner separated from itself.

From what has been said, we may perceive that the Crusean Age being substituted for the Cusean, and being also styled the æra of the [16] Cuthim, was the cause of these after-divisions being introduced; that each Age might be distinguished in gradation by some baser metal. Had there been no mistake about a Golden Age, we should never have been treated with one of Silver; much less with the subsequent of Brass and

[16] Cuthim, כתם, signified Gold and Golden.

Iron. The original history relates to the patriarchic age, and to what the Greeks termed the Scuthic period, which succeeded: when the term of man's life was not yet abridged to its present standard, and when the love of rule and acts of violence first displayed themselves upon the earth. The Amonians, wherever they settled, carried these traditions with them; which were often added to the history of the country; so that the scene of action was changed. A colony, who styled themselves Saturnians, came to Italy, and greatly benefited the natives. But the antients, who generally speak collectively in the singular, and instead of Herculeans, introduce Hercules; instead of the Cadmians, Cadmus; suppose a single person, [17] Saturn, to have betaken himself to this country. Virgil mentions the story in this light: and speaks of Saturn's settling there; and of the low state of the natives upon his arrival, when he introduced an Age of Gold.

[18] Hæc nemora indigenæ Fauni, Nymphæque tenebant,

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[17] It is said of Saturn also, that he built the antient city Byblus in Syria. This was many ages before his supposed arrival in Italy. See Sanchoniatho in Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 13. p. 37. The city was built by Saturnians.

[18] Virg. Æneid. l. 8. v. 314.

Genesque virûm truncis et duro robore nata;
Queis neque mos, neque cultus erat; nec jungere taûros,
Aut componere opes norânt, aut parcere parto:
Sed rami, atque asper victu venatus alebat.

He then proceeds to shew, how this people were disciplined and improved: all which, according to the usual mistake, he supposes to have been effected by one person, Saturn, instead of Saturnians.

[19] Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus Olympo,
Arma Jovis fugiens, et regnis exul ademptis.
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis,
Composuit; legesque dedit; Latiumque vocari
Maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
Aurea, quæ perhibent, illo sub rege fuerunt
Sæcula: sic placidâ populos in pace regebat.
Deterior donec paulatim, ac decolor ætas,
Et belli rabies, et amor successit habendi.

Lo! mighty prince, these venerable woods
Of old were haunted by the sylvan Gods,
And savage tribes, a rugged race, who took

[19] Virg. Æneid. l. 8. v. 319.

Their birth primæval from the stubborn oak.
No laws, no manners form'd the barb'rous race;
But wild the natives rov'd from place to place.
Untaught, and rough, improvident of gain,
They heap'd no wealth, nor turn'd the fruitful plain.
Their food the savage fruits the forests yield;
Or hunted game, the fortune of the field:
Till Saturn fled before victorious Jove,
Driven down, and banish'd from the realms above.
He, by just laws, embodied all the train,
Who roam'd the hills; and drew them to the plain;
There fix'd: and Latium call'd the new abode,
Whose friendly shores conceal'd the latent God.
These realms in peace the monarch long controll'd,
And bless'd the nations with an age of Gold.

Translated by Pitt.

This account is confused, yet we may discern in it a true history of the first ages; as may be observed likewise in Hesiod. Both the poets, however the scene may be varied, allude to the happy times immediately after the deluge; when the great Patriarch had full power over his descendants; when equity prevailed without written law.

These traditions, as I have repeatedly taken no-

tice, being adopted and prefixed to the histories of the countries where the Amonians settled, have introduced a Saturn in Ausonia; and an Inachus and Phoroneus at Argos: and in consequence of it, the deluge, to which the two latter were witnesses, has been limited to the same place, and rendered a partial [20] inundation. But, in reality, these accounts relate to another climate, and to a far earlier age: to those times, when, according to [21] Hyginus, the first kingdom upon earth was constituted; and when one language only prevailed among the sons of men.

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[20] Ην δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κατὰ μὲν Φορωνέα τὸν μετ' Ἰναχον, ἐπὶ Ὠγύγῃ κατακλυσμός. Clem. Alexandr. Strom. l. 1. p. 379.

[21] Fab. 143.

OF

CUSHAN OR ETHIOPIA;

AND OF

THE VARIOUS COLONIES,

AND

DENOMINATIONS OF THE CUTHITES.

WE may, I think, be assured, that by the term Scuthai, Σκυθαι, are to be understood Cuthai or Cutheans. It may therefore be proper to go to the fountain head, and to give an account of the original people, from whom so many of different denominations were derived. They were the sons of Chus, who seized upon the region of Babylonia and Chaldea, and constituted the first kingdom upon earth. They were called by other nations Cushan; also Χυσαιοι, Αραβες, Ωρειται, Ερυθραιοι, Αιθιοπες, *Cuseans, Arabians, Oreitæ, Eru-*

thræans, and Ethiopians: but among themselves their [1]general patronymic was Cuth, and their country Cutha. I shall take notice of them in their several migrations under each of these appellations. They were an ingenious and knowing people, as I have before observed, and at the same time very prolific. They combined with others of the line of Ham, and were enabled very early to carry on an extensive commerce, and to found many colonies; so that they are to be traced in the most remote parts of the earth. These settlements have been enumerated by [1]Eusebius, Syncellus, and other writers, as far as they could be discovered. Nor must we wonder if they appear so numerous, and so widely extended, as it is perfectly consonant to their original history. For we are informed by [2]Moses, when he enumerates the principal persons by whom the earth was peopled, that Ham had

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[1] Syncellus. p. 46. 47. 48. Johan. Malala. p. 15. Euseb. Chron. p. 11. 12. See also Vol. ii. of this work, p. 489. 490. 494. See particularly the Chronicon Paschale. p. 29. 30.

[2] Genesis. c. 10. On account of the comparative smallness to be observed in the line of Japhet, that encouraging prophecy was given, that Japhet should one day be enlarged. *God shall enlarge Japhet.* This, within these few centuries, has been wonderfully completed.

[3] thirty and one immediate descendants, all of them heads of families, when Shem had but twenty-six; and fourteen only are attributed to Japhet. A large body of this people invaded Egypt, when as yet it was in its infant state, made up of little independent districts, artless and unformed, without any rule or polity. They seized the whole country, and held it for some ages in subjection; and from their arrival the history of Egypt will be found to commence. The region between the Tigris and Euphrates, where they originally resided, was styled the country of the Chusdim or Chasdim, but by the western nations Chaldea. It lay towards the lower part of the Tigris, to the west, and below the plain of Shinar. On the opposite side, to the east, was the province of Elam, which country they seem soon to have invaded, and to have occupied the upper part. This consisted of that fine region called afterwards Susiana, and Chusistan, which was watered by the Ulai, Chobar, and Choaspes, and by other branches of the Tigris. When the Persians gained the sovereignty of Asia, it was from them denominated Persis. Some have thought Elam was

[3] Most of the Fathers make the number thirty-two, counting Canaan; so that the total of the three families they suppose to have been seventy-two.

Persis; but Elam lay to the south, and Persis was only another name for Cutha, for the Persians were the Cuthites of that country under a different appellation. The prophet Isaiah distinguishes these nations very accurately, when he mentions a return of the captives from [4] *Elam, Chus, and Shinar.* This country is said to have been also called Scutha; and the author of the [5] Chronicon Paschale mentions Scuthæ in these parts, who were so called even in his days; but he supposes that the name Scutha was given to the region on account of I know not what, Scythians from the north. Josephus, whose language had a greater affinity with the Chaldaïc, and to whom the history of the country was better known, expresses it Cutha; and speaks of a river Cutha, which was probably the same as the Choaspes. Hence we have another proof, and, I think, very determinate, that what the Grecians styled Scutha was Cutha, the land of

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[4] C. 11. v. 11. Thus far is true, that Susiana was originally a part of Elam. See Daniel. c. 8. v. 2. but it was dismembered, and on that account esteemed a separate region.

[5] Και εμειναν εν Περσιδι οι αυτοι Σκυθαι εξ εκεινου εως της νυν. p. 47. Arrian mentions a region called Scuthia near the Persian Gulf. Εχει δε και αυτη (Σαββαθα) συγχρησιν των περαν εμποριων, Βαρυγαζων, και Σκυθιας, και της παρακειμενης Περσιδος. Arriani Periplus apud Geog. Gr. minores. vol. 1. p. 15.

the Cuthites. It extended a great way eastward, and was in great measure bounded by Media to the north. When Salmanasser had taken Samaria, and carried the people into captivity, he repeopled it with a colony from [6] Cutha, Media, Babylonia, and other conquered nations. And to this the Samaritans allude, when they give an account of themselves in Josephus. [7] Σαλμανασαρης, ὁ των Ασσυριων βασιλευς εκ της ΧΟΥΘΙΑΣ ἡμας κατηγαγε και Μηδιας ενθαδε. *Salmanasser, the king of the Assyrians, brought us hither from the countries of Cutha and Media.* In process of time, through conquest, the empire of the Persians was greatly enlarged, and Cuthia made but a part of it. Hence, in another place, Josephus, speaking of the people of Samaria coming from Cuthia, makes it but a portion of Persis. He calls it here Cutha, and says, [8] Εστι δε αυτη (ἡ Χαθα) χωρα εν Περσιδι; *the province of Cutha, of which I have been speaking, is a region in Persis.* This is one of the countries styled Cushan in Scripture; for there are certainly more than one referred to by the sacred writers: by other people it was rendered Ethiopia. Having thus traced the

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[6] See 2 Kings. c. 17. v. 24. Men of Babylon and Cutha.

[7] Antiq. l. 11. c. 4. p. 556.

[8] Josephus Ant. l. 9. c. 14. p. 507.

Scythæ or Cuthites, to their original place of residence, and ascertained their true history, I shall proceed to describe them in their colonies, and under various denominations.

Of CUSHAN, styled ETHIOPIA.

As I have repeatedly mentioned Cushan, or Ethiopia, and it is likely to continually recur again; I think it will be proper to describe the countries of this name, and the people, who were in like manner denominated: for, to the best of my knowledge, I never yet saw this properly performed. It is well known, that the Ethiopians were Cuthites or Cuseans. [9] Εκ μεν Χυς, Χυσαιοι· ουτοι Αιθιοπες εισιν. *Chus is the person, from whom the Cuseans are derived. They are the same people, as the Ethiopians.* So also says Eusebius: [10] Χυς, εξ ου Αιθιοπες. *Chus was the person from whom came the Ethiopians.* The name is supposed to have been given to this people from their com-

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[9] Zonaras. p. 21. Syncellus. p. 47. Αιθιοπες, ων ηρξε (Χυς) ετι και νυν υπο εαυτων τε και των εν τη Ασια παντων Χουσαιοι καλουνται. Josephi Antiq. l. 1. c. 6. p. 22.

[10] Chron. p. 11. Εκ της φυλης του Χαμ Χυς ονοματι, Αιθιοψ. Chron. Pasch. p. 36. Νεφρωδ υιος Χυς του Αιθιοπος. Malala. p. 18.

plexion; as if it were from αιθω, and ωψ: but it is not a name of Grecian original. It was a sacred term; a title of the chief Deity: whence it was assumed by the people, who were his votaries, and descendants.* Eustathius tells us, [11] Διος επιθετον Αιθιοψ: *Æthiops is a title of Zeus.* Prometheus was styled Æthiops, who had particular honours among the people of the east. [12] Lycophron styles him, Δαιμων Προμαθευς Αιθιοψ. *Prometheus Æthiops, the Dæmon or tutelary Deity.* Pliny, speaking of the country, says, that it was first called Ætheria, and then Atlantia: and last of all Æthiopia, [13] a Vulcani filio Æthiope, *from Æthiops, the son of Vulcan.* Homer speaks of two nations only, which were named Æthiopes.

[14] Αλλ' ὁ μεν Αιθιοπας μετεκιαθε τηλοθ' εοντας,
Αιθιοπας, τοι διχθα δεδαιαται, εσχατοι ανδρων,
Οι μεν δυσομενυ Υπεριονος, οι δ' ανιοντος.

Neptune was now visiting the Ethiopians, who reside at a great distance: those Ethiopians, who

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[11] Schol. in Homerum. Odyss. A. v. 22.

[12] V. 533. Some read Προμαθευς.

[13] L. 9. p. 345.

[14] Odyss. I. A. v. 22. Hesychius styles Dionusus Αιθιοπαιδα, or Αιθιοπα παιδα.

are divided into two nations, and are the most remote of mankind. One nation of them is towards the setting sun; the others far in the east, where the sun rises. But this is much too limited. For, as the Cuthites got access into various parts of the world, we shall find an Ethiopia in most places where they resided. The Scripture seems to mention three countries of this name. One, and the nearest to Judea, was in Arabia, upon the verge of the desert, near Midian and the Red Sea. This is alluded to by the prophet Habakkuk, where he says that [15] he *saw the tents of Cushan in affliction; and the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.* A second Ethiopia lay above Egypt to the south; and is taken notice of by the prophet Ezekiel, where he is foretelling the destruction of the latter country, and says, that it shall be laid waste from one extreme part to the other. [16] *Behold, therefore, I am against thee,*

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[15] Habakkuk. c. 3. v. 7.

[16] Ezekiel. c. 29. v. 10. Our version seems to be very faulty, and renders the passage, *from the tower of Syene unto the borders of Ethiopia*, or Cush. In a former treatise I was under a mistake, from understanding it in this light: but was led to the right interpretation by the version of Xantes Pagninus and Montanus. Migdol, or Magdalum, was a fort not far from Pelusium, at one extremity of the country: Syene was the uttermost city at the other extreme, and stood under the Tropic upon the borders

and against thy rivers: and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from Migdol to Syene and the borders of Ethiopia. The third country, styled Ethiopia, comprehended the regions of Persis, Chusistan, and Susiana. [17] Herodotus takes notice of Ethiopians about these parts: and the country is mentioned by the prophet Zephaniah, when he speaks of the return of Judah from captivity. [18] *From beyond the rivers of Cushan, or Ethiopia, my suppliants, even the daughter of my dispersed shall bring mine offering.* The principal rivers to which he referred, were the [19] Ulai, Kur, Chobar, and Choaspes;

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of Ethiopia. The meaning of the prophet is plain, that the whole length of Egypt, north and south, from Migdol the garrison to Syene, shall be utterly made desolate. Syene stood at the extremity of Pathros, or superior Egypt; Migdol, the fort, was near Daphnæ Pelusiæ, upon the sea. Jeremiah states the chief divisions of the country very accurately, speaking of the Jews who dwelt *in the land of Egypt: which dwell at Migdol, and at Tahphanes, and at Noph, and in the country of Pathros.* c. 44. v. 1. See Observations and Inquiries, &c. vol. vi. p. 123.

[17] Οἱ δὲ ἀπ' ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθιοπες, δίξοι γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο, προσετετάχατο τοισι Ινδοισι. διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος μὲν ὐδὲν τοισι ἑτέροισι, φωνὴ δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μοῦνον. l. 7. c. 70. p. 541.

[18] Zephaniah. c. 3. v. 10.

[19] Upon the banks of the Ulai, or Eulæus, the prophet Daniel had his visions. Even Chaldea was esteemed Ethiopia; and

all eastern branches of the Tigris, near which were the chief places of captivity. Still further east, beyond Carmania, was another region of this name, which by Eusebius is termed [20] Αιθιοπια, ἡ βλεπουσα κατα Ινδες, προς Ευρονοτον, *the Ethiopia, which looks towards the Indi, to the south-east:* and even the Indi themselves, will in the sequel be found to have been Ethiopians. The sons of Chus came into Egypt under the name of Auritæ and Shepherds, as also of Ethiopians. Hence Egypt too inherited that name: [21] Εκληθη δε (Αιγυπτος)—και Αερια, και Ποταμια, και ΑΙΘΙΟΠΙΑ, δια τας εκει Αιθιοπας, περι ὡν πολλοι των παλαιων ἱστορεσι. *This country was called—both Aeria, and Potamia,* or the River Country; *also Ethiopia; which name it received from some Ethiopians, who settled there; and of whom many of the very antient writers have spoken.* The Cuthites settled at Colchus, the Colchis of the Greeks: in consequence of which it was called Cutaia and Ethiopia. [22] Jerome, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers,

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Tacitus, speaking of the Jews, whose ancestors came from Ur in Chaldea, styles them Æthiopum prolem. Histor. l. 5. c. 2.

[20] Euseb. Chron. p. 12. he adds, αλλη Αιθιοπια προς νοτον, ὁθεν εκπορευεται ὁ Νειλος ποταμος.

[21] Eustath. Comment. in Dionys. v. 241. p. 42.

[22] Hieron. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis.

mentions St. Andrew preaching the gospel in the towns upon the two Colchic rivers, the Apsarus and Phasis; and calls the natives Æthiopians. *Andreas, frater Simonis Petri, ut majores nostri prodiderunt, Scythis, Sogdianis, et Saceis in Augustâ civitate prædicavit, quæ cognominatur magna; ubi est irruptio Apsari, et Phasis fluvius: illic incolunt Æthiopes interiores.* He relates the same circumstance of Matthias. *In alterâ Ethiopiâ, ubi est irruptio Apsari, et Hyssi portus, prædicavit.* The port of Hyssus near Colchis is taken notice of by Arrian in his Periplus, and by Socrates in his life of the same saint: Εν τη δευτερα Αιθιοπια, οπου η παρεμβολη Αψαρου, και Υσσου λιμην. I have observed that the sons of Chus are said to have come under the titles of Casus and Belus into Syria and Phenicia, where they founded many cities: and we are informed by Strabo, that this country was called Ethiopia. [23] Εισι δε οι και την Αιθιοπιαν εις την καθ' ημας Φοινικην μεταγουσι. *There are people who would introduce an Ethiopia into the region which we esteem Phenicia.* In the account of the Cadmi-

[23] Strabo. l. 1. p. 73. These nations were the Scythæ of the Grecians. Hence it is said, Αιγυπτιων αποικοι εισιν οι Σκυθαι. Pind. Pyth. Od. 4. Schol. ad v. 376. for they were a known colony from Egypt.

ans, who are styled Arabians, Αραβες οι συν Καδμῳ, I have shewn that Eubœa was the place to which they first came: and here was a place called [24] Ethiopium. Samothrace was also so called: [25] Αιθιοπια, ἡ Σαμοθρακη. The extreme settlement of this people was in Spain, upon the Bætis, near Tartessus and Gades: and the account given by the natives, according to the historian Ephorus, was, that colonies of Ethiopians traversed a great part of Africa: some of which came and settled near Tartessus; and others got possession of different parts of the sea-coast. [26] Λεγεσθαι γαρ φησιν ὑπο των Ταρτησσιων Αιθιοπας την Λιβυην επελθοντας μεχρι βυσεως, τους μεν αυτους μειναι, τους δε και της παραλιας κατασχειν πολλην. *They mention it as a tradition among the people of Tartessus, that the Ethiopians once traversed the regions of Africa, quite to its*

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[24] Strabo. l. 10. p. 683. de Cotho et Cadmo.

Αιθιοπιον ονομα χωριυ εν Ευβοιᾳ. Harpocration.

——— πολισιον Ευριπυ. Steph. Byzantinus.

[25] Hesychius. Lesbos had the name of Ethiope and Macaria. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 31. p. 288.

Arabians sometimes distinguished from the sons of Chus. *Moreover, the Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians, that were near the Ethiopians.* 2 Chron. c. 21. v. 16.

Beth Arabah.

[26] Strabo. l. 1. p. 57.

western limits: and that some of them came and settled at Tartessus: others got possession of different parts of the sea-coast. They lived near the island Erythea, which they held.

[27] Ητοι μεν ναιεσι βοοτροφον αμφ' Ερυθειαν
Ατλαντος πεφι χευμα θεοδεες Αιθιοπηες.

Upon the great Atlantic, near the isle
Of Erythea, for its pastures fam'd,
The sacred race of Ethiopians dwell.

It is on this account that we find some of the same family on the opposite coast of [28] Mauritania; who are represented as people of great stature. [29] Αιθιοπες ἑτοι εισι, μεγιστοι ανθρωπων, ὡν ἡμεις ἰσμεν. *The people of this country* (Mauritania) *are Ethiopic; and they are in stature the largest of any nation with which we are acquainted.* The original Ethiopia was, as I have said, the region

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[27] Dionys. Perieg. v. 558.

[28] These are the Ethiopians alluded to by Homer.

Εσχατοι ανδρων,
Οι μεν δυσομενου Υπεριονος. Odyss. A. v. 22.

[29] Scylax Caryandensis. v. 1. p. 54. See also Strabo. l. 3. p. 237. who mentions the Ethiopians near Mauritania, upon the western ocean. Οι ὑπερ της Μαυρουσιας οικουντες προς τοις Εσπεριοις Αιθιοψι.

of Babylonia and Chaldea, where the first kingdom upon earth was formed, and the most early police instituted. Here also the first idolatry began. Hence it is very truly said by Stephanus of Byzantium: την Αιθιοπιαν γην πρωτην παγηναι· πρωτοι δε (οι Αιθιοπες) Θεους ετιμησαν, και νομους εχρησαντο. *Ethiopia was the first established country upon earth: and the people were the first who introduced the worship of the Gods, and who enacted laws.* And as the Scythæ, or Cuthites, were the same people, no wonder that they are represented as the most antient people in the world; even prior to the Egyptians. Scytharum gens antiquissima semper habita. *The Scythæ*, says Justin, *were ever esteemed of all nations the most antient.* But who were meant by the Scythæ has been for a long time a secret.

OF THE ERYTHREANS.

Another title, by which the Cuthites were distinguished, was that of Erythreans: and the places where they resided received it from them. And here it may not be improper to first take notice of the Erythrean Sea; and consider it in its full extent, for this will lead us to the people from whom it was called. We are apt to confine this name to the Red Sea, or Sinus Arabicus;

but that was only an inlet, and a part of the whole. The Cuthite Erythreans, who settled near Midian, upon the Sinus Elanitis, conferred this name upon that gulf: but the Persic Sea was also denominated in the same manner, and was indeed the original Erythrean Sea. Agathemerus seems to make it commence at the junction of the bay with the sea. [30] Τατε δε ἡ Ερυθρα Θαλασση ὡς περι τας συμβολας κατα τε Περσικε κολπε ϛομα κειται. Herodotus, speaking of the coast of Asia and Persis, after having mentioned the coast of the Pontus Euxinus above, says, [31] Ἡ δε δη ἑτερη, απο Περσεων αρξαμενη, παρατεταται ες την Ερυθρην Θαλασσαν. *The other coast, of which I am to speak, commences from among the Persians* (that is, from the outlet of the Tigris), *and extends to the Erythrean Sea:* which Sea both he and Agathe-

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[30] Agathemer. apud Geogr. Gr. Minores, vol. 2. p. 50.

[31] Herodotus. l. 4. c. 39. So Megasthenes, who wrote concerning the Babylonish history, calls the Sinus Persicus *Mare Erythræum*. He is quoted by Abydenus in Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 41. p. 457. Επιτειχισι δε και της Ερυθρης Θαλασσης επικλυσιν. This was the agger Semiramidis; a work attributed to an imaginary queen. Nearchus mentions king Erythras in the Indic Sea; and says that sea was called Eruthrean from him; απ' ὁτε και την επωνυμιην τη Θαλασσῃ ταυτῃ ειναι, και Ερυθρην καλεισθαι. Nearchi Parapl. apud Geogr. Græc. vol. 1. p. 30. See also Marcellinus. l. 23. c. 6. p. 287.

merus industriously distinguish from the Arabian Gulf; though the latter was certainly so called, and had the name of Erythrean. The Parthic empire, which included Persis, is by Pliny said to be bounded to the south by the [32] Mare Rubrum, which was the boundary also of the [33] Persians. By *Mare Rubrum*, he here means the great Southern Sea. And the poet Dionysius, speaking of the limits of the same country, says, that to the south it was bounded by the same sea, even to the farthest east; comprehending under this name the whole tract of ocean, to Carmania and Gedrosia.

[34] Πεζα δε δι νοτιη τετραμμενη αντολιηνδε,
Κλυζετ' Ερυθραιοις υπο κυμασιν ωκεανοιο.

Speaking of the island Taprobane, which he pla-

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[32] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 25.

[33] Persæ Mare Rubrum semper accoluere, propter quod is Sinus Persicus vocatur. Pliny. l. 6. c. 25. p. 330.

[34] Dionys. Perieg. v. 931. Moses Chorenensis gives a true account of this sea, as being one of the three with which the earth is surrounded. Primum est Mare Indicum, quod etiam Rubrum vocatur; ex cujus sinu Persicum et Arabicum profluunt maria; atque a meridie inhabitabili ignotâque terrâ, ab oriente regione Sinensi, a septentrionibus Indiâ, Perside et Arabiâ, &c. terminatur. Geog. p. 342.

ces far in the east, towards the Golden Chersonese, he says, that this too was situated in the Erythrean sea. He places it so, as not to be mistaken, in Asia, near the region of the Indian Colias, or Colchis; and styles it the great breeder of Asiatic elephants;

[35] Μητερα Ταπροβανην Ασιηγενεων ελεφαντων.

He mentions the whales, with which its coast used to be infested; which are taken notice of by other writers.

[36] Κητεα θινες εχεσιν, Ερυθραιε βοτα πωντε.

High places, and antient temples, were often taken by the Greeks for places of sepulture; and the Deity there of old worshipped for the person buried. A tomb of this sort is mentioned by the

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[35] Dionys. Perieg. v. 593.

[36] Ibid. 597. Also of the Erythrean Sea to the south of India.

Αλλα τοι εσπεριοις μεν ομηριος υδασιν Ινδος
Γαιαν αποτμηγει· νοτιον δ' αλος οιδματ' ΕΡΥΘΡΗΣ·
Γαγγης δ' εις αυγας. v. 1132.

The same as the Colchic sea, or Indian Ocean.

Ινδην ικετευσιν Ερυθραιην Αφροδιτην. Nonni Dionysiac. l. 35. p. 876.

same poet in the island Ogyris upon the coast of Carmania.

[37] Ἐσι δε τοι προτερω, Καρμανιδος εκτοθεν ακρης,
Ωγυρις, ενθα τε τυμβος Ερυθραιε βασιληος.

As you sail onward towards Carmania's cape,
You meet the island Ogyris, where stands
The tomb of king Eruthrus.

Those of this family, who passed still farther, and settled in India, and upon the peninsula beyond the Ganges, conferred this name upon the great Indic Ocean. The author of the Periplus wrote professedly about the history of this part of the world; and the whole is styled the navigation of the Erythrean Sea. The people themselves must consequently have been called Eruthreans, from whom it was named. People of their family founded many places westward, which were called Erythra, in [38] Ionia, Libya, Cyprus, Ætolia; and one in Bœotia, mentioned by Homer:

[39] Οι τ' αμφ' Αρμ' ενεμοντο, και Ειλεσιον, και Ερυθρας.

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[37] Dionys. Perieg. v. 606.
[38] Vide Steph. Byzantin.
[39] Homeri Iliad. B. v. 499.

I took notice that there were Erythreans about Tartessus. Pliny from Philistus and Ephorus acquaints us, that Gades itself was called Erythia: a small variation from Erythria. [40] Gadis insula—vocatur ab Ephoro et Philistide Erythia: and he adds, that it received this name from people who came from the coast of Tyre; but originally from the Erythrean Sea. Erythia dicta est, quoniam Tyrii aborigines eorum orti ab Erythræo Mari ferebantur. What is here meant by Mare Erythræum, may be known from Strabo, who says, that the people styled Phenicians, among whom are included the Tyrians, were by some said to come originally from the ocean, or from people, who resided upon its confines. [41] Φοινικας και Σιδονιους—αποικους ειναι των εν τω ωκεανω; by which must be meant the Persic Gulf near Chaldea. In respect to Gades, or Gadir, the same author mentions, that it was called by Pherecydes Syrus, Erutheia: Ερυθειαν δε τα Γαδειρα εοικε λεγειν ὁ Φερεκυδης:

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[40] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 4. p. 230. If they came from the Erythrean Sea, and were thence named, the text should be altered to Erythria: for that must have been the true name.

[41] Strabo. l. 1. p. 73. I cannot but take notice here of a mistake, which I made in a former work, concerning these Eruthreans of Iberia. I supposed that they were Edomites from the Red Sea: but they were certainly of another family, and came from the vicinity of the Tigris, and the Sinus Persicus; where the original Eruthreans inhabited.

Pherecydes seems to speak of Gadeira, as the same as Erytheia. Here lived the Θευδεες Αιθιοπηες of [42] Dionysius; under which characteristic the Cuthites are particularly denoted.

It may seem wonderful, that any one family should extend themselves so widely, and have settlements in such different parts. Yet, if we consider, we shall find nations within little more than two centuries, who have sent out immense colonies, and to places equally remote. Moreover, for the truth of the facts abovementioned, we have the evidence of the best histories. Cedrenus speaks of the usurpations of the sons of Ham: and says, that in his time they lived in a state of apostasy as far as India one way; also in the countries called Ethiopia, quite to Mauritania, the other. [43] Τȣ δε τȣ Χαμ πλειςα μεχρι και νυν εθνη εςιν εν αποςασιᾳ κατα γε τας ΙΝΔΙΑΣ, και Αιθιοπιας, και Μαυριτανιαν· εχει δε και εν τοις κατα βορραν μερεσιν παραθαλασσιας. *They have also upon the northern coast* (that is, the coast of Europe) *settlements upon the sea.* Zonaras speaks to the same purpose; but is more particular; mentioning the

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[42] Dionysii Perieg. v. 559.

[43] Cedreni Annal. v. 1. p. 14. Ησαν δε κατα τȣτον τον καιρον—οἱ παντες εβδομηκοντα δυο ανδρες τον αριθμον, αρχηγοι τε, και κεφαλαιωται. Τȣ μεν Χαμ γενȣς τριακοντα δυο· τȣ δε Ιαφετ δεκα πεντε· τȣ δε Σημ εικοσι πεντε. Epiphanius. l. 1. t. 3. p. 288.

place where they last resided before they spread themselves in the west. [44] Οι δε γε παιδες τε Χαμ την απο Συριας και Αβανε και Λιβανε των ορων γην κατεσχον—και οσα προς θαλασσαν αυτων ετετραπετο μεχρις ωκεανε κατειληφασι. *The sons of Ham seized upon all the country which reaches from Syria, and from the mountains of Abanus and Libanus—They got also possession of the places which lie upon the sea-coast, even to the Ocean,* or great Atlantic. These writers speak of this people very properly under the name of the sons of Ham: they were, however, chiefly Cuthites, or Ethiopians: to the vast extent of whose colonies Strabo bears witness. [45] Παραπλησιον εστιν, ὁ λεγω, και περι των διχα διηρημενων Αιθιοπων, ὁτι δει δεχεσθαι τους παρ' ὁλην την ωκεανιτιν διατεινοντας αφ' ηλιε ανιοντος μεχρι ηλιε δυομενε. He had been speaking of many nations, comprehended under one name; and in consequence of it says; *What I have been mentioning relates equally to the Ethiopians, that twofold people; whom we must look upon in the same light; as they lie extended in a long tract, from the rising of the sun, to the setting of the same.* Ephorus gave a similar account: [46] δοκει

[44] Zonar. l. 1. p. 21.
[45] Strabo. l. 1. p. 60.
[46] Ibid. l. 1. p. 59.

γαρ, φησι, το των Αιθιοπων εθνος παρατεινειν απ' ανατολων χειμερινων μεχρι των δυσμων. *The family of the Ethiopians,* says Ephorus, *seems to me to have extended themselves from the winter tropic in the east to the extremity of the west.*

In some places, as I have beforementioned, they mixed with the natives, and held many islands in common with them. [47] Αυται αι νησοι επικοινοι μεταξυ τε Χαμ, και τε Ιαφεθ, τα κατα θαλασσαν γινονται, ὁμε νησοι κς'. *These islands, which I have just specified, are those that are jointly held by the sons of Ham, and those of Japhet; and they are in number twenty and six.* The principal of them in the Egean Sea were Cos, Chios, Cnidos, Imbros, Lesbos, Samos. The author adds, [48] Εχει δε τα ὁρια τε Χαμ και ἑτερας νησους, Σαρδανιαν, Κρητην, Κυπρον. *There were other islands occupied by this people, such as Sardinia, Crete, and Cyprus.* Eusebius enumerates almost the same places occupied by the Amonians; and concludes with their settlements upon the Atlantic, where they mixed with the natives: [49] Και διοριζει μεταξυ τε Χαμ και τε Ιαφεθ το ςομα της ἑσπεριας θαλασσης τα επικοινα τε Χαμ και τε Ιαφεθ.

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[47] Chron. Paschale. p. 30.

[48] Ibidem.

[49] Euseb. Chronicon. p. 12.

Thus by reciprocal evidences from the most genuine history it appears, that the Cuthites, Ethiopians, and Erythreans were the same people. And it has been shewn, that they had a still more general name of Σκυθαι, Scuthai. This, though an incorrect appellation, yet almost universally obtained.

CUTHIA INDICA,

OR,

SCYTHIA LIMYRICA.

As so much depends upon my clearing up this article, which I have taken in hand; I shall proceed to shew, that not only the Scythæ of Colchis, Mœsia, and Thrace, with those upon the Palus Mæotis, were in great measure of the race of Chus: but that all nations styled Scythian were in reality Cuthian or Ethiopian. This may be ascertained from the names of places being the same, or similar among them all, from the same customs prevailing; from the same rites and worship, among which was the worship of the sun; and from those national marks, and family characteristics, whence the identity of any people may be proved. I have mentioned, that the Cu-

thites sent out many colonies; and, partly by their address and superiority in science, and partly by force, they got access among various nations. In some places they mixed with the people of the country, and were nearly absorbed in their numbers: in other parts they excluded the natives and maintained themselves solely and separate. They are to be met with in the histories of the first ages under different names and titles; being denominated sometimes from the cities which they built; sometimes from the worship which they professed: but the more general name, both of themselves, and of the countries which they occupied, was in the Babylonish dialect Cuth, Cutha, and Cuthia. They were by other nations styled Chus, Chusan, Cusëi; and these terms again were altered to Casus, Casius, Cissii, and [50] Cissæi.

After they had seized upon the province of Susiana, and Chusistan, they were in possession of the navigation of the Tigris downwards; and, probably commenced a very early trade. They got footing in India, where they extended them-

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[50] Of Kissia in Persis, Æschyl. Pers. v. 16. Ὁι τε τὸ Σουσων, ηδ' Ἐκβατανων, Και το ΠΑΛΑΙΟΝ Κισσιον ἐρεχος. Strabo. l. 15. p. 1058. Λεγονται δε και Κισσιοι οι Σουσιοι. Suitæ in Susia. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 1. p. 334.

selves beyond Gedrosia and Carmania, upon the chief river of the country. The author of the Periplus takes notice of them under the name of Scythians; and mentions those places in the east, where they resided. [51] Μετα δε ταυτην χωραν (Ὡραιαν) ηδη της ηπειρου, δια το βαθος των κολπων εκ της ανατολης ὑπερκερωσης, εκδεχεται παραθαλασσια μερη της Σκυθιας, παρ' αυτον κειμενα τον βορεαν, ταπεινα λιαν. Ἑξης ποταμος Σινθος, μεγιστος των κατα την Ερυθραν Θαλασσαν ποταμων, και πλειστον ὑδωρ εις Θαλασσαν εκβαλλων·—ἑπτα δε ἐστος ὁ ποταμος εχων στοματα. *After the country of Ora, the continent now, by reason of the great depth of its gulfs and inlets, forming vast promontories, runs outward to a great degree from the east, and incloses the sea-coast of Scythia, which lies towards the north, that is, in the recess of one of these bays. It is low land, and lies upon the river Sinthus; which is the largest river of any that run into the Erythrean Sea; and affords the greatest quantity of water.* I need not mention, that what he calls the Sinthus is the same as the Sindus, or Indus. They occupied also that insular province, called in their language, from its situation, Giezerette, or the island; and from their ancestor, as well as from their worship, Cambaiar, or the Bay of Cham,

[51] Arriani Perip. 2. Geogr. Vet. vol. 1. p. 21.

which name it retains at this day. They settled also upon the promontory Comar, or Comarin; and were lords of the great island Pelæsimunda, called afterwards Seran-dive. They were all styled the Southern Scuthæ, of whom the poet Dionysius gives the following description:

[52] Ινδον παρ ποταμον νοτιοι Σκυθαι ενναιεσιν,
Ος ρα τ' Ερυθραιης κατεναντιος εισι θαλασσης,
Λαβροτατον ροον κυν ωεπι νοτον ορθον ελαυνων.

This country is likewise taken notice of by Priscian under the name of Scythia:

[53] Est Scythiæ tellus australis flumen ad Indum:

The inhabitants of which country were certainly Cuthians, the posterity of Chus and Ham. Cedrenus expressly mentions them in this light, when he is taking notice of some of the principal Amonian settlements in a passage before quoted:

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[52] Dionysii Perieg. v. 1088.

[53] Priscian. v. 996. The Erythrean Sea is by most writers supposed to be the same as the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea: but Herodotus calls the Persic Gulf Erythrean; and Agathemerus, Dionysius, and the author of the Periplus call the whole Indic Ocean by this name. Many other authors extend it in the same manner.

[54] Τα δε τα Χαμ πωλεισα μεχρι και νυν εθνη εσιν εν αποσασια κατα γε τας ΙΝΔΙΑΣ, και Αιθιοπιας και Μαυριτανιας. That this Scythia was the land of Cutha, may be known from its being styled Ethiopia; under which character it is alluded to by Eusebius, when he speaks of [55] Αιθιοπια ἡ βλεπουσα κατα [56] Ινδους προς ευρονοτον. The Cuthites worshipped the Patriarch Noah under the name of Nusos, and Dio-nusos: and wherever they came, they built cities to his memory, called Nusa. They also worshipped Chus, under the character of Iachus, Pachus, Bacchus: and their history is always attended with an obscure account of some check which they once received; of a retreat, and dissipation; which is veiled under the notion of the flight of Bacchus. It related to the dispersion at Babel; and is mentioned in the histories of most places where they settled; and was particularly preserved among the traditions of the Indian Cutheans.

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[54] Cedren. Hist. Compend. vol. 1. p. 14.

[55] Eusebii Chron. p. 12.

The arrangement of the oriental nations by Eusebius is very particular: Ελυμαιοι, Αραβες, Αρχαιοι, Κιδρησιοι, ΣΚΥΘΑΙ, Γυμνοσοφισαι. Chron. p. 11.

[56] These are the Ethiopians mentioned by Apuleius, Qui nascentibus Dei Solis inchoantibus radiis illustrantur Æthiopes, Ariique. l. 11. p. 364.

[57] Εϛι δε τις θηητος ευρρειτην παρα Γαγγην
Χωρος τιμηεις τε και ιερος, ον ποτε Βακχος
Θυμαινων επατησεν, οτ' ηλασσοντο μεν αβραι
Ληναων Νεβριδες ες ασπιδας—
Τ' ενεκα Νυσσαιην μεν εφημιξαντο κιλευθον.

In consequence of this, they had many rites similar to those in [58] Greece. It was customary with them to crown themselves with ivy; which was to be found only at Meru, a mountain sacred to Bacchus. They also at their sacrifices wore the nebris, or spotted skin, like the Bacchanalians in the west: and used cymbals and tabours upon the like solemn occasions. They had also, ορχησις σατυρικη, the satyric dance, which was common among the Thracians, and the people of Greece.

On this account, when Alexander came into this country, the natives looked upon the Grecians as in great measure of the same family, as they were themselves: and when the people of Nusa sent Acouphis, the chief person of their city, to solicit their freedom of the Grecian con-

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[57] Dionys. Perieg. v. 1152.

[58] Arrian. Hist. Ind. p. 318. p. 321. Diod. Sic. l. 2. p. 123. The Indians also worshipped Osiris. Ibid. l. 1. p. 17.

queror, they conjured him by the well-known name of Dionusus, as the most efficacious means of obtaining their purpose. [59] Ω βασιλευ, δεονται σε Νυσσαιοι εασαι σφας ελευθερους τε και αυτονομους, αιδοι τε Διονυσε. *O king, the Nussæans intreat thee to suffer them to enjoy their liberties and their laws, out of regard to their God Dionusos.* Their chief city was Nusa: and wherever the Cutheans settled, they seemed to have founded a city of this [60] name. Hence Stephanus says, [61] Νυσαι, πολεις πολλαι. The Amonian colonies may be continually traced by this circumstance: for there was a city Nusa in Arabia, in Egypt, in Syria, in Colchis, upon Mount Caucasus, in Thrace, upon Helicon near Thebes, in Naxos, in Eubœa; and one in [62] Libya, of which it was said, that it

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[59] Arrian. Exp. Alex. l. 5. p. 196.

[60] The Scholiast upon Homer. Z. v. 139. mentions a Nusa in Arabia, and in Egypt. Nusa in Arabia is taken notice of by Herodorus, a later poet.

Εστι δε τις Νυση, υπατον κερας, ανθεσιν ὑλη,
Τηλε Φοινικης, σχεδον Αιγυπτοιο ῥοαων.

Scholia Apollonii. l. 2. v. 1215.

[61] Steph. Byzant. of cities styled Nusa. Also Eustathii παρεκβολαι in Dionys. v. 1159.—Stephanus of Nusa in Eubœa: ενθα δια μιας ἡμερας την αμπελον φασιν ανθειν, και τον βοτρυν πεπαινεσθαι.

[62] Strabo. l. 7. p. 459. Nusa in Libya, the city of Dionusus. There was a city Scythopolis in Canaan, undoubtedly founded

could never be seen twice by the same person. The Oxydracæ, another Indian people, pretended that they were immediately descended from Dio-Nusos; of whom Strabo takes notice: [63] Οξυδρακαι, ους τε Διονυσε συγγενεις εφαμεν μυθησασθαι—Οξυδρακας απογονους Διονυσε.

There were many other tribes of people, which lay upon the Indus and the Ganges; and betrayed their origin in their name. Of the latter river Dionysius speaks:

[64] Κεινος τοι πολεων αποτεμνεται εθνεα φωτων·
Ητοι μεν δυνοντος επι κλισιν ηελιοιο
Ωριτας τ' Αριβας τε, λινοχλαινους τ' Αραχωτας.

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by Cuthites, who came early into these parts of the country near Hermon. It is remarkable, that this place was of old called Nusa: Scythopolim, antea Nysam, a Libero Patre, sepultâ nutrice, ibi Scythis deductis. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 18. So that there is an uniformity in the history of all these places. It was also called Tricomis, Τρικωμις, and Bethsan, which last signifies, the house or temple of San, or Zan, the Shepherd Deity, the Zeus of the Greeks:

Ενθα μεγας κειται Ζαν, ὁν Δια κικλησκουσι.

Jamblich. in Vitâ Pythag.

[63] Strabo. l. 15. p. 1008. 1026.

[64] Dionys: Perieg. v. 1096. He expresses Arabes, Αριβες,

[65] ———Ganges
Separat innumeras et vastas gurgite gentes;
Oritasque, Aribasque simul, linique Arachotas
Utentes lænis.

And the Scholiast upon Dionysius more particularly; ωρος δυσιν τε Ινδε ποταμε Ωριται. The titles of Oritæ and Aribes, like that of [66] Æthiopes, were peculiar to the sons of Chus. Hence, when mention is made of Scythia Indica, and when the poet to the same purpose tells us,

Est Scythiæ tellus australis flumen ad Indum;

we may be assured that the country alluded to was Cuthia. The inland [67] Oritæ in some degree degenerated from their forefathers, and became in habit like the natives of the country; but differed from them in speech, and in their rites and customs: [68] γλωσσα δε αλλη αυτοισι και αλλα νομαια: so that we may be assured, that they were not the original inhabitants, though they came thither very early. One region of the Gangetic

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[65] Priscian. v. 1001.

[66] Αιθιοπια, ἡ βλεπουσα κατα τες Ινδες. Chron. Pasch. p. 29.

[67] Insula Solis—in quâ Ori gens. Pliny l. 6. p. 326.

[68] Arrian. Hist. Indic. p. 340. and 338. of the Oritæ.

country was named Cathaia, and the people [69] Cathaians. Arrian speaks of them as a very brave and respectable people: and says, that their chief city was Singala: [70] αυτονομους Ινδων αλλους, και τους λεγομενους Καθαιους—Σιγγαλα το ονομα τη πολει, και αυτοι οι Καθαιοι ευτολμωτατοι τε, και τα πολεμια κρατιστοι ενομιζοντο. Cathaia is a small variation for Cuthaia, as Aribes before was for [71] Arabes: and the latter are rendered by Arrian Arabians, Αραβιες; who speaks of them as residing upon one of the mouths of the Indus, near the island Crocale. [72] Προσοικεει δε ταυτη εθνος Ινδικον, οι Αραβιες καλεμενοι. They lived upon the river Arabis; which served as a boundary to them, and to their brethren the Oreitæ: [73] ος δια της γης αυτων ρεων εκδιδοι ες θαλασσαν, οριζων τουτων τε την χωρην και των Ωρειτεων: *which ran through their territories, and so passed into the*

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[69] The Cathaians, famous for a breed of fierce dogs; and for mines of salt, and others of gold and silver. Strabo. l. 15. p. 1025.

Cathaia is no other than Cuthaia, the name by which Persis and Cusistan were called, according to Josephus. Κυθαιαν—την Περσιδα. Antiq. Jud. l. 11. c. 4. p. 556.

[70] Arrian. Expedit. Alexandr. l. 5. p. 224.

[71] The country is called Araba at this day, to the west of the Indus.

[72] Arrian. Hist. Indic. p. 336.

[73] Ibid. Αραβις Ινδων. Euseb. Chron. p. 11.

ocean; serving as a boundary to their country, and to that of the Oreitæ. The chief city of the latter was Ur, like that in Chaldea; but expressed by the Greeks [74] Ωρα, Ora. They had been for ages an independent people; but were forced to submit to the fortunes of Alexander, to whom they surrendered their city.

Together with the Oreitæ and Arabians of Dionysius, are mentioned the Arachoti. These are undoubtedly the same as the Cathaians above; and were denominated from their city. Ar-Chota is the same as Cothopolis, or the city of Cutha, somewhat varied in the poet's description. The Arachotians are styled Λινοχλαινοι, from their particular habit, which was of linen. This circumstance is a strong characteristic of the Amonians. I believe, in every place where they settled, they were famous for this [75] manufacture. They introduced it in Colchis, which was celebrated for its flax and linen: so was the country of Cam-

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[74] Arrian. Expedit. Alexandr. l. 4. p. 190. l. 6. p. 261.

[75] Of the Colchi: ἐχουσι δε και λινουργουσι την καλαμην, ὡσπερ Αιγυπτιοι. Schol. in Pind. Pyth. Od. 4. v. 376.

Solomon sent for linen from Egypt. 1 Kings. c. 10. v. 28.

Moreover they that work in fine flax shall be confounded. Isaiah. c. 19. v. 9. of the Egyptians.

Eustathius of the Egyptians; το λινας εσθητας αμπιχεσθαι. Schol. in Dionys. Perieg. ad v. 689.

pania, where they settled in Italy. The Egyptians were styled *Turba linigera:* and the [75] Athenians had not long left off this kind of apparel in the time of Thucydides. The same habit prevailed in Bætica, especially among the priests:

[76] ——velantur corpora *lino*,
Et Pelusiaco præfulget stamine vertex.

It seems to have been universally the garb of the Cuthic Indians: as we may infer from Philostratus: [77] ϛολην δε ειναι τοις κατα τον Ινδον λινε φασιν εγχωριε, και ὑποδηματα βυβλε. This was the express habit of the Egyptians, whom this people resembled in many other respects. From circumstances of this nature, many learned men have contended that the Indians, and even the [78] Chinese, were a colony from Egypt: while others have proceeded as warmly upon the opposite principle; and have insisted that the Egyptians, or at least their learning and customs, are to be derived from the Indi and Seres. But neither opinion is

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[75] Thucydides. l. 1. p. 6.

[76] Silius Italic. l. 3. v. 25.

[77] Philostrati Vita Apollonii. l. 2. p. 79.

[78] Memoire, dans lequel on prouve, que les Chinois sont une colonie Egyptienne, &c. Par M. de Guignes, de l'Academie Royale, &c. &c. A Paris. 1760.

quite true: nor need we be brought to this alternative; for they both proceeded from one central place: and the same people who imported their religion, rites, and science into Egypt, carried the same to the Indus and Ganges; and still farther into China and Japan. Not but that some colonies undoubtedly came from Egypt: but the arts and sciences imported into India came from another family, even the Cuthites of Chaldea; by whom the Mizraïm themselves were instructed: and from Egypt they passed westward. [79] Ἐκ Χαλδαίων γάρ λέγεται φοιτήσαι ταῦτα πρὸς Αἰγυπτον, κἀκεῖθεν πρὸς Ἕλληνας. *The most approved account is, that arts came from Chaldea to Egypt; and from thence passed into Greece.* Hence we must not be surprised if we meet with the same customs in India, or the same names of places as are to be found in Egypt, or Colchis, or the remotest parts of Iberia. In this country were cities named Ur, Cuta, Gaza, Gaugamela. The river Indus was said to rise in Mount Caucasus, similar to the mountain in Colchis. There was a place called Aornon in Epirus, in Campania, and in Iberia near Tartessus. The like was to be found in India: [80] Ἄορνον τινὰ πέτραν, ἧς τὰς ῥίζας

[79] Zonar. v. 1. p. 22.

[80] Strabo. l. 15. p. 1008.

ὁ Ινδος ὑποῤῥει πλησιον των πηγων. It was supposed here, as in other places, to have received its name from the impossibility of birds flying over it; as if it were of Grecian etymology. By Dionysius it is expressed Aornis.

[81] Τȣ̀νεκα μιν και φωτες επικλειȣσιν Αορνιν.

I took notice that the Oreitæ and Oxydracæ pretended to be descended from Dionusus. The like was said of the Gargaridæ, who lived upon the Hypanis, near Mount Hemodus, and are mentioned by the poet Dionysius.

[82] ——μετα τȣς δε, Διωνυσσȣ θεραποντες
Γαργαριδαι ναιȣσιν, ὁθι χρυσοιο γενεθλην
Δαιδαλεην Ὑπανις τε φερει, θειος τε Μεγαρσος.

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[81] Dionys. Perieg. v. 1151. He places it at the extremity of the isthmus, near Cape Comar: for there were two places in India of this name.

[82] Dionys. Perieg. v. 1143. Pompon. Mela speaks of the city Nusa in these parts. Urbium, quas incolunt, Nysa est clarissima et maxima: montium, Meros, Jovi sacer. Famam hic præcipuam habent in illâ genitum, in hujus specu Liberum arbitrantur esse nutritum: unde Græcis auctoribus, ut femori Jovis insitum dicerent, aut materia ingessit, aut error. l. 3. c. 7. p. 276.

The most knowing of the Indi maintained that Dionusos came from the west.

He styles them, from their worship and extraction, *the servants of Dionusos.* As there was a Caucasus in these parts, so was there also a region named [83] Colchis; which appears to have been a very flourishing and powerful province. It was situated at the bottom of that large isthmus, which lies between the Indus and Ganges, and seems to have comprehended the kingdoms which are styled Madura, Tranquebar, and Cochin. The Gargaridæ, who lived above upon the Hypanis, used to bring down to the Colchians the gold of their country, which they bartered for other commodities. The place where they principally traded, was the city Comar, or Comarin, at the extremity of the isthmus to the south. The Colchians had here the advantage of a pearl-fishery, by which they must have been greatly enriched. A learned commentator upon the antient geographers gives this account of their country. [84] Post Barim amnem in Aiorum regione est Elancon emporium, et Cottiara metropolis, ac Comaria promontorium; et oppidum in Periplo Erythræi Κομαρ et Κομαρει, nunc servato nomine Comarin. Ab hoc promon-

[83] Colchis mentioned by Æthicus, and styled Colche: also by Ptolemy.

[84] Geographi Minores. Prolegom.

torio sinus Colchicus incipit, cui Colchi, Κολχοί, emporium adjacens, nomen dederunt. The Periplus Maris Erythræi, here spoken of, is a most valuable and curious treatise, whoever may have been the author: and the passage chiefly referred to is that which follows: [85] Απ' Ελαβαχαρων το λεγομενον Πυῤῥον ορος, αλλη παρηκει χωρα, ἡ Παραλια λεγομενη, προς νοτον, εν ᾗ και ἡ κολυμβησις εστιν ὑπο τον βασιλεα Πανδιονα πινακι, και πολις ἡ λεγομενη Κολχοι. Πρωτος τοπος Βαλιτα καλουμενος, ὁρμον καλον εχων και κωμην παραθαλασσιον. Απο δε ταυτης εστιν ἑτερος τοπος το Κομαρ λεγομενον, εν ᾧ τοπῳ το ἱερειον εστι, και λιμην, εις ὁν οἱ βυλομενοι τον μελλοντα αυτους χρονον ἱεροι γενεσθαι, χηροι μενουσιν αυτε, κἀκει ερχομενοι απολλυονται. Τοθ' αυτο και γυναικες. Ἱσορειται γαρ την Θεον εκει

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[85] Arriani Peripl. Maris Erythræi, apud Geograph. Græcos Minores. v. i. p. 36.

Dionysius calls this region Κωλις instead of Χολχος.

Προς νοτον ἱλκομενοι παρα τερματα Κωλιδος αιης. Perieg. v. 1148. And others have supposed it was named Colis from Venus Collas. But what has any title of a Grecian Goddess to do with the geography of India? The region was styled both Chlica, and Colchica.

It is remarkable, that as there was a Caucasus and Regio Colica, as well as Colchica, in India: so the same names occur among the Cutheans upon the Pontus Euxinus. Here was Regio Colica, as well as Cholcica at the foot of Mount Caucasus. Pliny l. 6. c. 5. p. 305. They are the same name differently expressed.

επιμεινναι κατα τινα χρονον απολελεσθαι. Απο δε τε Κομαρει εκτεινουσα χωρα μεχρι Κολχων, εν ᾗ κολυμβησις τε μαργαρε εστιν· απο δε καταχρισμων κατεργαζεται. Προς τον νοτον ὑπο τον βασιλεα Πανδ ιονα εστιν. Μετα δε Κολχες ενδιεχεται αλλος αιγιαλος εν κολπῳ κειμενος. *From Elabacara extends a mountain called Purrhos, and the coast styled Paralia* (or the pearl coast), *reaching down to the most southern point, where is the great fishery for pearl, which people dive for. It is under a king named Pandion, and the chief city is Colchi. There are two places where they fish for this* [86] *commodity: of which the first is Balita: here is a fort, and an harbour. In this place, many persons who have a mind to live an holy life, and to separate themselves from the world, come and bathe, and then enter into a state of celibacy. There are women, who do the same. For it is said that the place at*

[86] Paralia seems at first a Greek word, but is in reality a proper name in the language of the country. I make no doubt, but what we call Pearl was the Paral of the Amonians, and Cuthites. Paralia is *the Land of Pearls*. All the names of gems, as now in use, and of old, were from the Amonians: Adamant, Amethyst, Opal, Achates or Agate, Pyropus, Onyx, Sardonyx, Ætites, Alabaster, Beril, Coral, Cornelian. As this was the shore where these gems were really found, we may conclude that Paralia signified the Pearl Coast. There was pearl fishery in the Red Sea, and it continues to this day near the island Delaqua. Purchas, v. 5. p. 778. In these parts, the author of the Periplus mentions islands, which he styles Πυραλαοι, or Pearl Islands. See Geogr. Gr. Minores. Periplus. v. 1. p. 9.

particular seasons every month is frequented by the Deity of the country, a Goddess who comes and bathes in the waters. The coast, near which they fish for pearl, lies all along from Comari to Colchi. It is performed by persons, who have been guilty of some crime, and are compelled to this service. All this coast to the southward is under the aforementioned king Pandion. After this there proceeds another tract of coast, which forms a gulf.

The author then proceeds to describe the great trade which was carried on by this people, and by those above upon the Hypanis and Ganges: and mentions the fine linen, which was brought down from Scythia Limyrica, and from Comara, and other places. And if we compare the history, which he gives, with the modern accounts of this country, we shall find that the same rites and customs still prevail; the same manufactures are carried on: nor is the pearl fishery yet exhausted. And if any the least credit may be afforded to etymological elucidation, the names of places among the Cuthite nations are so similar in themselves, and in their purport, that we may prove the people to have been of the same family; and perceive among them the same religion and customs, however widely they were scattered. The mountains Caucasus and [87] Pyrrhus, the rivers Hypanis,

[87] The mountain Pyrrhus, Πυῤῥος, was an eminence sacred to

Baris, Chobar, Soana, Cophis, Phasis, Indus, of this country, are to be found among the Cuthite nations in the west. One of the chief cities in this country was Cottiara. This is no other than Aracotta reversed; and probably the same that is called Arcot at this day. The city Comara, and the promontory Comarine are of the same etymology as the city Ur in Chaldea; which was called Camar and Camarina from the priests and worship there established. The region termed Aia above Colchis, was a name peculiarly given by the Amonians to the places where they resided. Among the Greeks the word grew general, and Αια was made to signify any land: but among the Egyptians, at least among the Cuthites of that country, as well as among those of Colchis Pontica, it was used for a proper name of their country:

[88] Αια γε μην ετι νυν μενει εμπεδον·

Ur or Orus; who was also called Cham-Ur, and his priests Chamurin. The city Ur in Chaldea is called Chamurin by Eupolemus, who expresses it Καμυριη, ἡ τινες πολιν Ουριαν καλουσιν. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 418. Hence this promontory in Colchis Indica is rendered Comar by the author of the Periplus,; and at this day it is called Comorin. The river Indus is said to run into a bay called Sinus Saronicus. Plutarch. de Flumin. Sar-On, Dominus Sol.

[88] Apollon. Rhod. l. 4. v. 277.

And again;

[89] Θαρσει, επει Δαιμων αλλον πλοον ἡγεμονευσει
Εξ Αιης, μετα δ' Αιαν ἁλις πομπηες εσονται.

It was owing to this, that the name given to the chief person of the country was Aiates; and when some of the family settled at Circeum in Italy, the name was there preserved. Hence the Goddess Circe, who is represented as sister to Aiates, is called by Homer Aiaia; which is the Gentile epithet from Aia, the country. It occurs in some enchanting verses, where Ulysses describes his being detained by the two Goddesses Calypso and Circe.

[90] Η μεν μ' αυτοθ' ερυκε Καλυψω, δια θεαων,
Εν σπεσσι γλαφυροισι, λιλαιομενη ποσιν ειναι·
Ὡς δ' αὑτως Κιρκη κατερητυεν εν μεγαροισιν,
Αιαιη, δολοεσσα, λιλαιομενη ποσιν ειναι·
Αλλ' εμον ȣποτε θυμον ενι ςηθεσσιν επειθον.

The adoration of fire prevailed no where more than in these countries, together with the worship of the sun. They were likewise Ophites, such

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[89] Apollon. Rhod. l. 2. v. 423.
[90] Homer. Odyss. l. I. v. 29.

who reverenced the Deity under the symbol of a serpent. All the names of [91] places in these parts have a manifest reference to the rites and worship; and if they be compared with names of other places, where this people are supposed to have settled, they will be generally found very similar, and oftentimes the same. And this not only in antient accounts, but in those of later date, since the people of Europe have got footing in those parts. We read of Onor, Canonor, Candonor, all terms relating to the sun and fire. Calicut, Calcutta, Çotate, Comar, Comarin, Cottia, Cathaia, are of an etymology too obvious to need an interpretation. The most considerable mission in Madura is called [92] Aour (אור) at this day. Near it is a city and river Balasore. Bal is the Chaldean and Syrian Deity, well known: Azor was another name of the Deity, worshipped in the same countries. He is mentioned by Sanchoniathon and other writers, and was supposed to have been the founder of Carthage. He was also known in Sicily, where there were rivers named from him. This people got likewise possession of the island Palæsimunda or Ceylon, called also Taprobane.

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[91] Hence so many places end in *patan* and *patana*, which signifies a serpent.

[92] Travels of Jesuits by Lockman. v. 1. p. 470.

[93] Μητερα Ταπροβανην Ασιηγενεων ελεφαντιων.

The adoration of fire and the worship of the sun was introduced here very early. In this island is an high mountain, held very sacred; the summit of which is called the Pike of Adam. This had no relation to the great Protoplast, though generally understood to be denominated from him. For writers may make what inferences they please from Sanchoniathon, and other antiquarians, ill interpreted, and worse applied: I am persuaded that there are very few allusions in

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[93] Dionys. Perieg. v. 593. That Taprobane, named also Palæsimunda and Serandive, was the island now called Ceylon, may be proved from many authors. Ἑξης δε τουτων εστιν ἡ Ινδικη, ἡ εντος Γαγγου ποταμου κειμενη, ἡς κατα μεσαιτατον της νησου νησος κατ' αντικρυ κειται μεγιστη, Ταβροβανη καλουμενη. Marcian. Heracleot. apud. Geog. Vet. v. 1. p. 14. Τῳ ακρωτηριῳ της Ινδικης τῳ λεγομενῳ Κορυ αντικειται το της Ταπροβανης ακρωτηριον καλουμενον Βορειον. Marcian. Heracleot. p. 26. Τουτο δε ακρωτηριον της νησου το αντικειμενον τῳ Κορυ—απεχει σταδια, ῾η συξ.

The poet Dionysius places it in the great Eruthrean Ocean: and mentions the whales with which that sea once abounded: a circumstance taken notice of by other writers. He speaks of it as a very large island.

Αυτη δ' ευρυτατη μεγεθος πελει· αμφι δε πασιν
Κητεα θηρες εχουσιν, ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙΟΥ βοτα πουτου,
Ουρεσιν ηλιβατοισιν εοικοτα. v. 596.

antient history to the antediluvian world. The Pike of Adam is properly the summit sacred to Ad Ham, the King or Deity Ham, the Amon of Egypt. This is plain to a demonstration from another name given to it by the native Cingalese, who live near the mountain, and call it Hamalel. This, without any change, is [94] Ham-al-El, *Ham the Sun;* and relates to the antient religion of the island. In short every thing in these countries savours of Chaldäic and Egyptian institution. The worship of the ape, the imputed sanctity of the cow, the symbolical adoration of the serpent, have been introduced by people from those parts; not so much by the Mizräim, or genuine inhabi-

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[94] On the side of Conde Uda is an hill, supposed to be the highest in the island, called, in the Chingulay language, Hamalel, but by the Portugueze and the Europeans Adam's Peak. It is sharp as a sugar-loaf, and on the top is a flat stone, with the print of a foot like a man's on it, but far bigger, being about two feet long. The people of this land count it meritorious to go and worship this impression; and generally about the new year, the men, women, and children go up this vast and high mountain to worship. Knox. Hist. of Ceylon, p. 5. The notion of this being Adam's Pike, and the print of Adam's foot, did not arise from the Portugueze, or any Europeans; but was very antient. It is mentioned by the Mahometan travellers in the ninth century: and the name of the mountain, Ad Ham, was undoubtedly as old as the first Cuthite inhabitants. See p. 3. of Renaudot's Edition of Mohammedan Travellers; and Notes, p. 8.

tants of Egypt, as by the Cuthites. They came hither from that country as well as from Chaldea; but they came first and principally from the latter. Whatever therefore was similar in the rites of the Indians and the Mizräim, was imported into each country, principally by the sons of Chus, though some chance colonies of real Egyptians may have likewise come hither. When Alexander had taken Nusa in India, he appointed one of the natives to be governor, whose name was Acouphis. In like manner the person, whom he made his substitute at the great city Palimbothra, is styled Moph or Mophis. He seems to have had more appellations than one, for he is by Curtius called Omphis. Lastly, the person, to whom Alexander applied to get Porus to surrender, had the name of Meröe. All these are names apparently similar to Egyptian and Chaldäc terms. Even Porus is nothing else but Orus, with the Egyptian prefix. And as names of this kind continually occur, it is impossible but that some relation must have subsisted between those nations where this similitude is found. The Cuthic Indians worshipped particularly Dionusus; but confessed that he was not a native of their country, and that his rites were imported: [95] Διονυσον εκ των προς εσπεραν τοπων: He came from the west; that is from Babylonia and

[95] Diodorus Sic. l. 2. p. 123.

Chaldea. Arrian, speaking of the Nuseans, says, that they were not the original inhabitants of the country. [96] Νυσαιοι δ' ουκ Ινδικον γενος εισιν, αλλα των αμα Διονυσῳ ελθοντων εις την γην των Ινδων. *The people of Nusa are not* [97] *properly an Indian race; but are part of the company, who attended Dionusus in his expedition into these parts.* They were therefore of the family of Chus, and styled Cuseans, Cuthites, Arabians, and Ethiopians; which were the most common titles of people of that family. The same author tells us, that they differed very little in their appearance from the Ethiopians of Africa, especially those of the south; being of the same dark complexion, but without woolly hair. Those who lived to the north resembled the Egyptians. [98] Των τε ανθρωπων αι ιδεαι και παντην αποδεξιν αι Ινδων τε και Αιθιοπων. Οι μεν προς νοτον ανεμον Ινδοι (scil. οι Καλχαι) τοις Αιθιοψι μαλλον τι εοικασι, μελανες τε ιδεσθαι εισι, και η κομη αυτοις μελαινα, πλην γε δη ὁτι σιμοι ουκ ὡσαυτως, ουδε υλικρανοι, ὡς Αιθιοπες. Οι δε βορειοτεροι τουτων κατ' Αιγυπτιους μαλιστα αν ειεν τα σωματα. *The inhabitants upon the Indus are, in their looks and appearance, not unlike the Ethio-*

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[96] Arrian. Hist. Indica. p. 313.

[97] They were mistaken in saying, ουκ Ινδικον γενος: but their meaning is plain, that they were not Aborigines.

[98] Arrian. Hist. Indica. p. 320.

pians (of Africa). *Those upon the southern coast resemble them*[99] *most: for they are very black, and their hair also is black: but they are not so flat-nosed; nor have they woolly hair. They, who are more to the north, have a greater resemblance to the Egyptians.* Strabo describes them in the same manner; and says that the southern Indians were very like the Ethiopians. [100] Ὁι μεν μεσημβρινοι τοις Αιθιοψιν εισιν ὁμοιοι κατα την χροιαν· κατα δε την οψιν, και την τριχωσιν τοις αλλοις. Ουδε γαρ ϰλοτριχϰσι δια την ὑγροτητα τϰ αερος. Ὁι δε βορειοτεροι τοις Αιγυπτιοις. They might well be like the nations specified: for they were colonies from Chaldea; colonies chiefly of Cuthites, who settled at different times in India. These writers all concur in shewing their likeness to the Ethiopians: whereas they were Ethiopians. Herodotus speaks of them plainly by that name: and says, that they differed in nothing from their brethren in Africa, but in the straitness of their hair;

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[99] Vincentius Bellovacensis mentions two Indian nations particularly professing the rites of Bacchus, one of which was named Albarachuma. Al-bara-Chuma means the sons of Chum or Cham; and that they were the sons of Cham may be inferred from Eusebius: Τϰ δε Χαμ πλειϛα μεχρι και νυν εθνη εϛιν εν αποϛασιᾳ κατα τε τας Ινδιας και Αιθιοπιας, κ.τ.λ. Chron. p. 13.

[100] Strabo. l. 15. p. 1012.

[1] Οι μεν γαρ απ' ηλιω Αιθιοπες ιθυτριχες εισι. They extended from Gedrosia to the Indus, and from thence to the Ganges, under the name of [2] Ethiopians, Erythreans, and Arabians. When Nearchus, by the appointment of Alexander, sailed down the Stour, an arm of the Indus, the first nation which he encountered was that of the Arabians. They resided, according to Arrian, below Carmania, in the mouth of the great river, near the island Crocale. [3] Προσοικει δε ταυτη εθνος Ινδικον, οι Αραβιες καλεομενοι. They lived upon the river Arabis, by some called [4] Aribis, to which they had given name.

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[1] Οι μεν γαρ απ' ηλιω Αιθιοπες ιθυτριχες εισι· οι δε εκ της Λιβυης ουλοτατον τριχωμα εχουσι παντων ανθρωπων. Hesiod. l. 7. c. 70. p. 541.

[2] Æthiopum Gymnosophistæ mentioned by Hieronymus. l. 4. in Ezechiel. c. 13.

[3] Arrian. Hist. Indic. p. 336. Oras tenent ab Indo ad Gangem Palibothri: a Gange ad Colida (or Colchida) atræ gentes, et quodammodò Æthiopes. Pomp. Mela. l. 3. c. 7. They worshipped Ζευς Ομβριος. Strabo. l. 15. p. 1046. He mentions the promontory Tamus, and the island Chruse. Tamus was the name of the chief Egyptian Deity, the same as Thamuz of Syria.

[4] Αραβιται μεν δε εθνος, και τουτο αυτονομον των περι τον Αραβιον ποταμον νεμομενων. Arrian. Expedit. l. 6. p. 260. Of the Oritæ, ibid. and p. 261.

Of the INDI.

The Grecian writers, finding that the Ethiopians and Cutheans of this part of the world were not the original inhabitants, have very properly distinguished them from those who were Aborigines; but they have been guilty of a great mistake, in making these Aborigines the Indi, and separating the latter from the Æthiopes. The Cuthites, styled Æthiopes, were the original Indi: they gave name to the river, upon which they settled; and to the country, which they occupied. Hence [5] Iarchus of India tells Apollonius; ὁτι ΑΙΘΙΟΠΕΣ μεν ωχεν ενταυθα, γενος ΙΝΔΙΚΟΝ. And almost in [6] every place, where their history occurs, the name of Indi will be found likewise. The river Choaspes, of whose waters only the kings of Persis drank, was esteemed an Indian river.

[7] Χωρις μεν Κορος εςι μεγας, χωρις τε Χοασπης
Ἑλκων Ινδον ὑδωρ.

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[5] Philostrati Vit. Apollon. l. 3. p. 125.

[6] Diodorus Sicul. l. 1. p. 17. The chief inhabitants upon the Indus were Cuseans.

[7] Dionys. Perieg. v. 1073. Coros is the river Cur, the river

It ran through Chusistan, and was a branch of the Tigris: whence that river, of which the former was a branch, must have been Indian. This is rendered certain from the Cuthite Ethiopians, who came under the title of shepherds into Egypt. They came from Chaldea upon the river Tigris: and they are said expressly to have come from the Indus. [8] Αιθιοπες απο Ινδε ποταμε αναςαντες τοτε Αιγυπτω ωκησαν. *About this time*, says Eusebius, *some Ethiopians, taking leave of their country upon the river Indus, came and settled in Egypt.* Hence it is that [9] Bacchus has been represented as the son of the river Indus. Hence also arose the true notion that the Indian Dionusos was the most antient: Διονυσον αρχαιοτατον ΙΝΔΟΝ γεγονεναι. The genuine and most antient person of this title must be referred to Babylonia. This is the country to which Phylarchus alluded, when he said that Bacchus first brought the worship of the two bulls, which were called Apis and Osiris, from India into Egypt. [10] Πρωτος εις Αιγυπτον εξ Ινδων Διονυσος ηγαγε δυω βες, τω

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of the Sun. Κυρος, Sol. Hesych. Τον μεν ηλιον Περσαι Κυρον λεγουσι. Κυρος· δεσποτης. Hesychius.

[8] Euseb. Chron. p. 26.

[9] Philostrati Vit. Apollonii. l. 1. p. 64.

[10] Plutarch. Isis et Osir. v. 2. p. 362.

μεν Απις ονομα, τω δε Οσιρις. It was a true history though Plutarch would not allow it. This worship was common in Egypt before the Exodus: for it was copied by the Israelites in the wilderness near Mount Sinai. It was of too early date to have been brought from the country near the Ganges: and was introduced from Chaldea, and the Tigris, the original Indus. The Africans, who had the management of elephants in war, were called Indi, as being of Ethiopic original. Polybius says in the passing of the Rhone; [11] τας μεν Ινδας απολεσθαι συνεβη παντας, τας δε ελεφαντας διασωθηναι: *it happened that Hannibal lost all the Indi; but the elephants were preserved.* The same author says of the consul Cæcilius Metellus in the battle against Asdrubal: [12] Θηρια συν αυτοις Ινδοις ελαβε δεκα. The fable of Perseus and Andromeda, whatever it may mean, is an Ethiopic story: and it is said of that hero;

> [13] Andromeden Perseus nigris portavit ab *Indis.*

Virgil, speaking to Augustus of the people of this family, calls them by the same name;

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[11] Polyb. l. 3. p. 200.

[12] Ibid. l. 1. p. 42.

[13] Ovid. de Arte Amandi. l. 1. v. 53.

[14] Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus *Indum.*

If we change the scene, and betake ourselves to Colchis, we shall meet with Indians here too. The city Asterusia, upon Mount Caucasus, is styled Indica. [15] Ασεργσια Ινδικη πολις. I have mentioned from Jerom, that St. Matthias preached the gospel at Colchis, near the Phasis and Apsarus; which country is called Æthiopia. Socrates, in his [16] Ecclesiastical History, mentions the same: and adds, that St. Bartholomew was in these parts; and that his particular province was India; which India joined to Colchis, and to the region upon the Phasis, where Matthias resided. Βαρθολομαιος δε εκληρετο την συνημμενην ταυτη ΙΝΔΙΑΝ, την ενδοτερω. He calls it the innermost India, to distinguish it from that which was not mediterranean, but lay on the Southern Ocean. The country here mentioned was a part of Iberia Colchica: and as some of the same family settled in Iberia Hispaniæ, we find

[14] Virg. Georg. l. 2. v. 173. The poet means here the Parthians, who were in possession of Persis and Babylonia.

[15] Stephan. Byzantinus.

[16] Socratis Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 1. c. 19. See also l. 1. c. 20. p. 50. and 51. Ινδων των ενδοτερω και Κολχων τα εθνη. p. 49.

there too an Indic city; [17] ΙΝΔΙΚΗ, πολις Ιβηριας, πλησιον Πυρηνος. The author adds, what is very remarkable, τινες δε Βλαβερεραν αυτην καλεσι; *Some call it Blaberoura.* Is not Blaberoura ill expressed? I think that there is a transposition of a single letter: and that it was originally Bebel-Oura; so denominated from the two chief cities of the Cuthites, Babel and Our, in Babylonia, and Chaldea. The river Indus was often called the Sindus: and nations of the family, whereof I am treating, were called Sindi. There were people of this name and family in Thrace, mentioned by Hesychius: Σινδοι (της Θρακικης) εθνος Ινδικον. *The Sindi* (of Thrace) *are an Indian nation.* Some would alter it to Σινδικον; Sindicum: but both terms are of the same purport. He mentions in the same part of the world, πολις, Σινδικος λιμην λεγομενη; *a city, which was denominated the Sindic,* or Indian, *harbour.* [18] Herodotus speaks of a regio Sindica upon the Pontus Euxinus, opposite to the river Thermodon. This some would alter to Sindica; but both terms are of the same amount. This Indica was the country of the Mœotiæ, a Cuthic tribe. The Ind, or Indus, of the east, is at this day

[17] Steph. Byzantin.

[18] Herodot. l. 4. c. 86.

called the Sind; and was called so in the time of Pliny: [19] Indus, incolis Sindus appellatus, in jugo Caucasi montis, quod Paropamisus vocatur, adversus solis ortum effusus, &c.

If this title be peculiar to the Cuthite Ethiopians, we may well expect those above Egypt, among whom the Nile took its rise, to be so called. We accordingly find that river distinguished for being derived from the country of the Indi;

[20] Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis;

and the same poet, in another place, speaking of Augustus, says,

[21] ——super et Garamantas et Indos
Proferet imperium.

Nor is this a poetical rant, but a just appellation.

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[19] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 20. p. 319.

Σινδος ποταμος. Arriani Peripl. apud Geogr. Vet. Græc. v. 1. p. 21.

[20] Virgil. Georg. l. 4. v. 293.

[21] Virgil. Æn. l. 6. v. 794. The like occurs in another place.

Omnis eo terrore Ægyptus, et Indi,
Omnis Arabs, omnes verterunt terga Sabæi.
Æneid. l. 8. v. 75.

By the Indi are meant the Ethiopians above Egypt.

Ælian, in describing the Libyans of interior Africa, says that they bordered upon the Indi; [22] Λιβυων των γειτνιωντων τοις Ινδοις, by which were meant the Ethiopians. And Apollonius of Tyana, in a conference with these southern Ethiopians, finding that they spoke much in praise of the Indians in general, tells them, [23] Τα μεν Ινδων επηνειτε, ΙΝΔΟΙ το αρχαιον παλαι οντες: *You speak much in favour of every thing relating to the Indians; not considering that originally you were Indians yourselves.* In short, Egypt itself was in some degree an Indic nation; having received a colony of that people, by whom it was named Aït or Aëtia. [24] Εκληθη δε και Μυζαρα, και Αιρια, και Ποταμια, και Αετια, απο τινος ΙΝΔΟΥ [25] Αετα. Hence it is said, [26] Οσιριδα Ινδον ειναι το γενος, *That*

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[22] Ælian de Animalibus. l. 16. c. 33.

[23] Philostrati Vit. Apollon. Tyanæi. l. 6. c. 6. p. 277.

There are some remains of an antient city between the Tigris and Euphrates, near the ruins of antient Babylon, which still retains the name of Sindia, mentioned by Gaspar Balbi. See Purchas. v. 2. l. 10. c. 5. p. 1723.

[24] Stephanus Byzantinus.

[25] Ναι μην και Αετια, εκ τινος ΙΝΔΟΥ, Αετου καλουμενου. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. v. 241.

[26] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 17. Add to the above a remarkable passage, concerning the people about the Palus Mœotis, who were a colony of Cuthites;

Osiris was an Indian by extraction: because the Cuthite religion came from the Tigris.

Thus have I endeavoured to shew, from the names of places, and of men, but more particularly from various parts of antient history, that the Scythic Indians were in reality [27] Cuthic; as were all people of that denomination. They were divided into various casts, most of which were denominated from their worship. The principal of these names I have enumerated, such as Erythræi, Arabes, Oritæ, Æthiopes, Cathei, Indi: and, however various in title and characteristic, I have shewn they were all one family, the Cuthites from Babylonia and Chaldea. There is a remarkable passage in the Chronicon Paschale, which must not be omitted: This author tells us, [28] Εν τοις χρονοις της Πυργοποιΐας εκ τε γενους τε Αρφαξαδ ανηρ τις Ινδος ανεφανη σοφος αστρονομος, ονοματι Ανδεβαριος, ὁς και συνεγραψε πρωτος Ινδοις αστρονομιαν. *At the time, when the tower of Babel was erected, a certain person made his appearance in the world,*

Σαυρομαται δ' επεχυσιν επασσυτεροι γεγαωτες
ΣΙΝΔΟΙ, Κιμμεριοι τε, και οἱ πελας Ευξεινοιο
Κερκετιοι τ', Οριται τε. Dionys. Perieg. v. 680.

[27] Hence Hesychius: Σινδις, or, as Albertus truly reads it, Σινδια, ἡ Σκυθια.

[28] Chron. Pasch. p. 36.

who was (Indus) *an Indian, and said, to have been of the race of Arphaxad. He was famed for his wisdom, and for his skill in astronomy, and named Andoubarios. He first delineated schemes of the heavens, and instructed the Indi in that science.* The same history occurs in [29] Cedrenus. Why these writers make this personage of the race of Arphaxad, I know not. This astronomer is probably Chus, the father of the Magi, who is said to have first observed the heavens, and to have paid an undue reverence to the celestial bodies. The name Andoubarios seems to be a compound of Andou-Bar, Indi filius. Hence the original Indus must have been Ham.

I cannot conclude this account of the Cuthites in India Limyrica, without taking notice of the great character they bore in the most early times for ingenuity and science. Traditions to this purpose prevailed, wherever they settled: and I have given many instances of their superiority herein. They were, like the Egyptians, divided into seven orders; of which the philosophers were the most honourable. Each tribe kept to the profession of its family, and never invaded the department of another. [30] Φησι δε (Μεγασθενης)

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[29] Cedren. Hist. p. 14.

[30] Strabo. l. 15. p. 1025.

το των Ινδων γενος εις επτα μερη διηρησθαι. Nilus the Egyptian tells Apollonius Tyanæus, that the Indi, of all people in the world, were the most knowing; and that the Ethiopians were a colony from them, and resembled them greatly. [31] Σοφωτατοι μεν ανθρωπων ΙΝΔΟΙ· αποικοι δε Ινδων ΑΙΘΙΟΠΕΣ· πατριζουσι δε αυτοι την σοφιαν. *The Indi are the wisest of all mankind. The Ethiopians are a colony from them: and they inherit the wisdom of their forefathers.*

The philosophy of this [32] people was greatly celebrated; insomuch that Alexander visited the chief persons of the country, who were esteemed professors of science. Among the Persians they were styled Magi: but among the Indo-Cuthites they had the title of Sophim and Sophitæ. Many regions in different parts were denominated from them Sophitis, Sophita, Sophene. [33] Strabo mentions an Indian province of this name; and Diodorus Siculus speaks largely of their institutions. The march of Alexander through their country is particularly taken notice of by [34] Curtius. Hinc

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[31] Philostrati Vit. Apollon. l. 6. p. 287. So p. 125. Αιθιοπες—γενος Ινδικον.

[32] Σοφοι εισιν οι Σκυθαι σφοδρα. Antiphanes Comicus apud Athenæum. l. 6. p. 226.

[33] Strabo. l. 15. p. 1024.

[34] Quint. Curtius. l. 9. c. 1. See Vossius de Philosophorum Sectis. l. 2. c. 2. §. 2.

in regnum Sophitis perventum est. Gens, ut Barbari credunt, sapientiâ excellit, bonisque moribus regitur. They were formed into societies, and resided in colleges as recluses: others lived at large, like so many mendicants. Their religion, like that of all the Amonians, consisted in the worship of the sun, and adoration of fire. Hence they were denominated, from Cham the Sun, Chamin and Chomin; and their wise men Chomini Sophite, and Sophitim: but the Greeks from the term Chomin and Chominus formed Γυμνος, and rendered this people Γυμνο-σοφειται and Γυμνοσοφισαι; as if they were naked philosophers. Suidas seems to have been aware of the mistake, and owns that Γυμνος was the Indian name of a philosopher. Consequently, it had no relation to Greece. The people of this sacred character were divided into different societies, which were denominated from the Deity Manes, whom they served. He was sometimes compounded Achmanes and Oro-Manes; and was well known in Persis, and in Egypt. From him these priests in

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Καθαια· πολις Ινδικη. Steph. Byzantin.

Pliny mentions Magi among the Arabians.

The people are styled Catheans by Strabo: and he supposes one Sopeithes to have been the chief person of the country. Καθειαν (read with Berkelius Καθαιαν) τινες την Σωπειθης κατα τηνδε την Μεσοποταμιαν τιθεασιν. l. 15. p. 1024.

India were styled Bar-Achmanes, contracted Brachmanes: also Ger-manes, Sar-manes; and Al-Obii. [35] Διττον δε τουτων (Γυμνοσοφιστων) το γενος. Οι μεν Σαρμαναι αυτων· οι δε Βραχμαναι καλουμενοι· και των Σαρμανων οι Αλλοβιοι προσαγορευομενοι. These were the titles, by which the professors of science were distinguished. They were the same as the [36] Magi, and so famed for their knowledge, that many of the Grecian philosophers are said to have travelled to them for information. This is reported of [37] Democritus, Pyrrho of Elea, and Apollonius Tyanæus. Nay, the very Scriptures seem to allude to their superlative knowledge: for it is said of

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[35] Clemens Alexand. Strom. l. 1. p. 359.

Bar-Achmanes, the sons of the great Manes. In Phrygia and Pontus he was styled Ac-mon: Ακμων.

[36] Of the Babylonian and Chaldean Magi, see Aristotle εν τω Μαγικω: and Sotion in Libris της διαδοχης apud Laertium in Procemio. p. 2.

Οι καλουμενοι δε Μαγοι, γενος τουτο μαντικον και Θεοις ανακειμενον, παρα τε Περσαις, και Παρθοις, και Βακτροις, και Χωρασμιοις, και Αραβιοις, και Σακαις, και Μηδοις, και παρα πολλοις αλλοις Βαρβαροις. Lucian. de Longævitate. vol. 1. p. 632.

[37] Democritus went to the Indians. Δια ταυτα τοι και πολλην επηει γην· ηκεν ην και προς τους Χαλδαιους, και εις Βαβυλωνα, και προς τους Μαγους, και τους Σοφιστας των ΙΝΔΩΝ. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 4. c. 20. p. 375. Of Thracian Philosophy, see Ger. Vossius de Philosophorum Sectis. c. 3. p. 19.

Solomon, that his [38] wisdom excelled all the wisdom of the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt. In which account I cannot but suppose that the learning of the Cuthim Sophitim was included; if not principally alluded to.

Thus have I endeavoured to shew, that all this interamnian country between the Indus and the Ganges was called Scythia; like that about the river Phasis, and upon the Palus Mæotis; as well as regions in other parts. As all these places were apparently inhabited by Cutheans; I think we may be assured, that the name Scuthia, Σκυθια, is a mistake for Cuthia; and that the Scythæ were Cuthæ, or Cuthians; and this will be found to obtain, wherever the name of Scythia prevails; the people of that country, wherever situated, will be found upon examination to be in some degree descended from Chus, whom the Babylonians and those of his family seem to have expressed Cuth.

It is very remarkable that the poet Dionysius, having described all the nations of the known world, concludes with the Indo-Scythæ; of whom he gives a more ample, and a more particular account, than of any, who have preceded. He dwells long upon their habit and manners, their rites, and customs, their merchandize, industry,

[38] 1 Kings. c. 4. v. 30.

and knowledge: and has transmitted some excellent specimens of their antient history. And all this is executed in a manner so affecting, that if Homer had been engaged upon the same subject, he could not have exceeded either in harmony of numbers or beauty of detail. Some extracts I have given; but as the poet is so diffuse in his description of this wonderful people, and his history so much to the purpose, I will lay the greater part of it before the reader, that he may be witness of the truth.

[39] Ινδον παρ ποταμον Νοτιοι Σκυθαι ενναιεσιν,
Ος ρα τ' Ερυθραιης κατεναντιον εισι θαλασσης,
Λαβροτατον ροον ωκυν επι νοτον ορθον ελαυνων·
Αρξαμενος τα πρωτ' απο Καυκασε ηνεμοεντος.

. . . . . .

Ητοι μεν δυνοντος επι κλισιν ηελιοιο
Ωριτας τ', Αριβας τε, λινοχλαινες τ' [40] Αραχωτας,
Σατραϊδας θ', οσσες τε παρα πτυχι Παρπανισοιο
Ξυνη ομως μαλα παντας επωνυμιην Αριηνες·
Ου χθονα ναιεταοντας επηρατον, αλλ' υπο λεπτη
Ψαμμῳ πεπληθυιαν, ιδε ῥωπεσσι δασειαν.
Αλλ' εμπης ζωησιν επαρκεες εισι κελευθοι.
Αλλον γαρ σφιν ολβον ακηρατον αια κομιζει.

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[39] Dionysii. Perieg. v. 1088. &c.

[40] Scholia Eustathii ad v. 1096. Two nations Arachotæ. Ειτα εθνος νοτιον.

Παντη γαρ λιθος εστιν ερυθρη κεραλιοιο,
Παντη δ' εν πετρησιν υπο φλεβες ωδινουσι
Χρυσειης κυανης τε καλην πλακα σαπφειροιο,
Της αποτεμνομενοι, βιοτησιον ωνον εχουσι.
Προς δ' αυγας [41] Ινδων ερατεινη πεπταται αια,
Πασαων πυματη, παρα χειλεσιν Ωκεανοιο.
Ἠν ρα τ' ανερχομενος Μακαρων επι εργα και ανδρων
Ηελιος πρωτησιν επιφλεγει ακτινεσσι.
Τῳ γαιης ναεται μεν υπο χροα κυανεουσι,
Θεσπεσιον λιποωντες· ειδομενας δ' υακινθῳ
Πιοτατας φορεουσιν επι κρατεσφιν εθειρας.
Τῶν δ' οι μεν χρυσοιο μεταλλευουσι γενεθλην,
Ψαμμον εϋγναμπτησι λαχαινοντες μακελησιν·
Οι δ' ἰσες υφωσι λινεργεας· οι δ' ελεφαντων
Αργυφεας πρισθεντας υποξυουσιν οδοντας.
Αλλοι δ' ιχνευουσιν επι προβολησιν αναυρων
Ηπερ βηρυλλοι γλαυκην λιθον, η αδαμαντα
Μαρμαιρουτ', η χλωρα διαυγαζουσαν ιασπιν,
Η και γλαυκιοωντα λιθον καθαροιο τοπαζου,
Και γλυκερην αμεθυσον υπηρεμα πορφυρεουσαν.
Παντοιον γαρ γαια μετ' ανδρασιν ολβον αεξει,
Αεναοις ποταμοισι καταῤῥυτος ενθα και ενθα.

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[41] Ad v. 1107. Δια τουτο και χρωμα φερουσι (οἱ Ινδοι) παραπλησιον Αιθιοψι. The Scholiast supposes the complexion to have arisen from the climate. Εισι δε μελαντεροι των αλλων ανθρωπων, πλην Αιθιοπων.

Φιλωδοι οἱ Ινδοι και φιλορχημονες. Ibid.

Και μην και λειμωνες αει κομοωσι πετηλοις.
Αλλοθι μεν γαρ κεγχρος αεξεται, αλλοθι δ' αυτε
Ὑλαι τηλεθοωσιν Ερυθραιȣ καλαμοιο.

. . . . . .

Και την μεν πολλοὶ τε και ολβιοι ανδρες εχȣσιν,
Ουχ ἁμα ναιεταοντες ὁμωνυμοι, αλλα διαμφις
Κεκριμενοι· ποταμȣ μεν απειρεσιȣ πελας Ινδȣ
[42] Δαρδανεες, τοθι λοξον απο σκοπελων Ακεσινην,
Συρομενον δεχεται πλωτος νηεσσιν Ὑδασπης.
Τοις δ' επι και Κωφης τριτος ἑσπεται αργυροδινης.
Των δε μεσοι ναιȣσι Σαβαι και Τοξιλοι ανδρες,
Σκοδροι δ' ἑξειης· επι δ' ἑσπεται αγρια φυλα
[43] Πευκανεων. Μετα τȣς δε Διωνυσσȣ θεραποντες
Γαργαριδαι ναιȣσιν, ὁθι χρυσοιο γενεσθλην
Δαιδαλεην Ὑπανις τε φερει, θειος τε Μεγαρσος,
Λαβροτατοι ποταμων απο δ' ȣρεος Ημωδοιο
Ορνυμενοι προρεȣσιν επι Γαγγητιδα χωρην,
Προς νοτον ἑλκομενοι παρα τερματα Κωλιδος αιης.

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[42] Ad v. 1138. Ὁι Δαρδανεις, Ινδικον εθνος· ὁι μεντοι Δαρδανοι Τρωϊκον. Dardan was the original name of each people: it signified little what termination the Greeks were pleased to affix.

[43] Ad v. 1143. Πευκανεων—Εθνος Ινδικον ὁι Πευκαλεις. Peuce at the mouth of the Danube.

————Alaricum babara Peuce
Nutrierat.

Peuca-On, and Peuce-El.

See here accounts of Aornis and Aornon—probably a metathesis for Ouranon.

Ἡ δ' ητοι προνενευκεν επ' ωκεανον βαθυδινην,
Ηλιβατος, ταχινοισι δυσεμβατος οιωνοισι·
Τεινεκα μιν και φωτες επικλειεσσιν Αορνιν.
Εςι δε τις Θηητος εϋῤῥειτην παρα Γαγγην
Χωρος τιμηεις τε και ιερος, [44] ὀν ποτε Βακχος
Θυμαινων επατησεν, ὀτ' ηλλασσοντο μεν ἀῤραι
Ληναων νεβριδες ες ασπιδας, ες δε σιδηρον
Θυρσοι μαιμωωντο, και εις σπειρημα δρακοντων,
Ζωστηρες Θ', ἑλικες τε, πολυγναμπτης ελινοιο,
Τημος ὀτ' αφραδιησι Θεοι ατιμησαν ἑορτην.
Τεινεκα Νυσσαιην μεν εφημιξαντο κελευθον·
Κοσμῳ δ' εσησαντο συν ὑιασιν οργια παντα.
Αυτος δ', ὁπποτε φυλα κελαινων ωλεσεν Ινδων,
Ημωδων ορεων επεβησατο, σων ὑπο πεζαν
Ἑλκεται Ηωιο μεγας ῥοος ωκεανοιο.
Ενθα δυο σηλας σησας περι τέρματα γαιης,
Καγχαλοων μετα χευμα κατηλυθεν Ισμηνοιο.
Τοσσοι μεν κατα γαιαν ὑπερτατοι ανδρες ειδιν.
Αλλοι δ' ενθα και ενθα κατ' ηπειρας αλοωνται
Μυριοι, ὡς κε αν τις αριφραδεως αγορευσοι
Θνητος εων· μακροι δε Θεοι ῥεα παντα δυνανται.
Αυτοι γαρ και πρωτα Θεμειλια τορνωσαντο,
Και βαθυν οιμον εδειξαν αμετρητοιο Θαλασσης·
Αυτοι δ' εμπεδα παντα βιῳ διετεκμηραντο,
Αςρα διακριναντες· εκληρωσαντο δ' ἑκαςῳ
Μοιραν εχειν πουτοιο και ηπειροιο βαθειης.

[44] Ad v. 1153. Ὄρα δε κομπον Ἑλληνικον.

Τῳ ῥα και αλλοιην ῥυσμιε φυσιν ελλαχ' ἑκαστη.
Ἡ μεν γαρ λευκη τε και [45] αργινοεσσα τετυκται,
Ἡ δε κελαινοτερη· ἡ δ' αμφοτερων λαχε μορφην.
. . . . . .
Ὡυτως ανθρωποις ἑτεροιΐα παντα τετυκται.
Ὑμεις δ' ηπειροιτε, και ειν ἁλι χαιρετε νησοι,
Ὑδατα τ' Ωκεανοιο, και ἱερα χευματα ποντυ,
Και ποταμοι, κρηναι τε, και ερεα βησσηεντα.

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[45] Ad v. 1176. Το δε αργινοεσσαν, γραφεται και αγριλοεσσαν, δια τυ λαμβδα, κατα στοιχειων συγγενειαν. Ὡυτω γαρ και το νιτρον, λιτρον, και τον πνευμονα, πλευμονα φασιν οἱ Αττικοι.

Priscian adds to the character of the Indians great size and agility, and speaks of their philosophy and rites.

Hic alii superant procero corpore tantum,
Insiliant equitum faciles ut more elephantos.
Ast alii vivunt sapienti pectore nudi,
Luminibusque vident rectis, mirabile, solem;
Et radios oculis et sacrâ mente retractant;
Signaque concipiunt arcanâ luce futuri. v. 1027.

Of whales. v. 600.

Of the Tigris;

Ὑγατιης προχοησι Τερηδονος εγγυς ὀδευων.

Dionys. Perieg. v. 982.

According to this poet, Dionysus was born in Arabia. v. 939.

Ετεον γαρ αναχθονα λυσατο κεινην
Ζευς αυτον Διονυσον ἐυῤῥαφεος παρα μηρυ·

i.e. Chaldea, ascribed to Arabia, according to his limits.

Of the wealth of Arabia. Ibid.

Ηδη γαρ πασης μεν επεδραμον οιδμα θαλασσης·
Ηδη δ' ηπειρων σκολιον πορον. Αλλα μοι ὑμνων
Αυτων εκ μακαρων ανταξιος ειη αμοιβη.

. . . . . .

Upon the banks of the great river Ind,
The southern Scuthæ dwell: which river pays
Its watery tribute to that mighty sea,
Styled Erythrean. Far remov'd its source,
Amid the stormy cliffs of [46] Caucasus:
Descending hence through many a winding vale,
It separates vast nations. To the west
The Oritæ live, and Aribes: and then
The Aracotii fam'd for linen geer.
Next the Satraïdæ; and those who dwell
Beneath the shade of Mount Parpanisus,
Styled Arieni. No kind glebe they own,
But a waste sandy soil, replete with thorn.
Yet are they rich: yet doth the land supply
Wealth without measure. Here the coral grows,

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[46] Mount Caucasus in India was different from the mountain so called upon the Euxine: there were more than one of this name. The poet Dionysius makes the Tanais take its rise in Caucasus:

Τυ δ' ητοι πηγαι μεν εν υρεσι Καυκασιοισι. v. 663.

The Tanais and the Indus cannot be supposed to have the same source.

Ruddy and smooth: here too are veins of gold;
And in the quarries deep the sapphire's found,
The sapphire, vying with the empyreal blue.
To the east a lovely country wide extends,
India; whose borders the wide ocean bounds.
On this the sun new rising from the main
Smiles pleased, and sheds his early orient beam.
The inhabitants are swart; and in their looks
Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth,
With moisture still abounding: hence their heads
Are ever furnish'd with the sleekest hair.
Various their functions: some the rock explore,
And from the mine extract the latent gold.
Some labour at the woof, with cunning skill,
And manufacture linen: others shape,
And polish, ivory with the nicest care:
Many retire to rivers shoal; and plunge
To seek the beryl flaming in its bed,
Or glittering diamond. Oft the jasper's found
Green, but diaphanous: the topaz too,
Of ray serene and pleasing: last of all
The lovely Amethyst, in which combine
All the mild shades of purple. The rich soil,
Washed by a thousand rivers from all sides
Pours on the natives wealth without controul.
Here mighty meadows, stretch'd out wide, produce
Herbs of all species, trees of every leaf.
The succulent grass, styled cenchrus, here abounds,
And yields redundant pasture. High above

Wave the tall groves of Erythrean [47] cane,
Sweet to the sense and grateful. . . . . .
Nor is this region by one people held:
Various the nations under different names,
That rove the banks of Ganges and of Ind.
Lo, where the streams of Acasine pour,
And in their course the stubborn rock pervade
To join the Hydaspes! here the Dardans dwell;
Above whose seat the river Cophes rolls.
The sons of [48] Saba here retir'd of old:
And hard by them the Toxili appear,
Join'd to the Scodri: next a savage cast,
Yclep'd Peucanian. Then a noble race,
Who style themselves Gargaridæ, and shew
To Dionusos a peculiar care.
Near a fair stream their happy lot is fallen,

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[47] Ad v. 1127. Eustathius of these canes or reeds: ῥιζαι καλαμων—τῃ ἑψησει γλυκειαι.—καλαμοι ποιησι μελι, μελισσων μη ὑσων.

[48] Ad v. 1141. Genes. c. 10. v. 7. *And the sons of Chus, Saba, and Havilah, and Subtah, &c.*

People of this name lay also to the west of the Indus, towards the extreme part of Persis.

Πρωτα Σαβαι, μετα τους δε Πασαργαδαι. Perieg. v. 1069.

Upon which passage Eustathius observes, Ησαν δε και εθνος Θρᾳκικον Σαβοι.

The same poet mentions a people of this name in Arabia.

Μυρραιοι τε, Σαβαι τε, και αγχιγυοι Κλιταβηνοι. v. 959.

Where the swift Hypanis and Megarsus speed
From Mount Hemodus to Gangetic shores,
Fraught as they run with the rich seeds of gold.
Not far from hence, but near the southern main,
The limits of the country Colis reach,
By others Colchis nam'd. Here towering steep,
The rock Aornon rises high in view,
E'en to the mid-air region: not a bird
Of boldest pinion wings this subtile clime.
There is moreover, wonderful to tell,
In the rich region, which the Ganges laves,
A pass esteem'd most sacred: this of old
Bacchus is said, in wrathful mood, distress'd,
To have travers'd, when he fled: what time he changed
The soft Nebrides for a shield of brass;
And for the Thyrsus, bound with ivy round,
He couch'd the pointed spear. Then first were seen
The zones and fillets, which his comrades wore,
And the soft pliant vine-twigs, moving round
In serpentine direction, chang'd to asps.
These facts lay long unheeded: but in time
The natives quickened paid memorial due;
And call the road Nusaia to this day.
Soon as the lovely region was subdued
By the God's prowess, glorying down he came
From Mount Hemodus to the circling sea.
There on the strand two obelisks he reared,

High and conspicuous, at the world's [49] extreme.

. . . . . .

To enumerate all, who rove this wide domain
Surpasses human pow'r: the Gods can tell,
The Gods alone: for nothing's hid from Heaven.
Let it suffice, if I their worth declare.
These were the first great founders in the world,
Founders of cities and of mighty [50] states:
Who shew'd a path through seas, before unknown;
And when doubt reign'd and dark uncertainty,

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[49] Ad v. 1164. He mentions these obelisks or pillars in another place, v. 623.

Ενθα τε και γηλαι Θηβαιγενεος Διονυσου
Ἑστασιν σωματοιο παρα ῥοον ωκεανοιο;
Ινδων ὑστατιοισιν εν ἀρεσιν· ενθα τε Γαγγης
Λευκον ὑδωρ Νυσσαιον επι πλαταμωνα κυλινδει.
At India's verge extreme, on hills remote,
Where the proud Ganges pours the sacred stream
Nusean call'd, and joins the southern wave,
Beneath a grove of stately plane arise
The lofty pillars of this arc-born God.

The poet confounds Dionusus with Bacchus, as many others have done.

Θηβαιγενης is Arc-born: it alludes to the Patriarc's preservation and second birth in the arc. The Greeks interpreted this, *born at Thebes.* Hence Dionusus was made a native of Bœotia.

[50] Dionysius seems in this passage to speak of the Gods: but those, who by the antients were styled Gods, were the Αθανατοι, Δαιμονες, Ἡλιαδαι, the heads of the Cuthite family, who performed what is here mentioned.

Who rendered life more certain. They first viewed
The starry lights, and form'd them into schemes,
In the first ages, when the sons of men
Knew not which way to turn them, they assigned
To each his just department: they bestowed
Of land a portion, and of sea a lot;
And sent each wandering tribe far off to share
A different soil and climate. Hence arose
The great diversity, so plainly seen
Mid nations widely severed. . . . . .
. . . . . Now farewell
Ye shores and sea-girt isles: farewell the surge
Of antient Nereus, and old Ocean's stream.
Ye fountains too, and rivers; and ye hills,
That wave with shady forests, all farewell.
My way I've sped through the wide pathless deep,
By the bluff cape and winding continent:
'Tis time to seek some respite and reward.

Such is the character given by the poet Dionysius of the Indian Cuthites under their various denominations. It is to be observed, that the sons of Chus, however they may be distinguished, whether they be styled Oritæ, Arabians, Ethiopians, or Erythreans, are in all places celebrated for science. They were sometimes called Phoinices: and those of that name in Syria were of Cuthite extraction; as I have before shewn. In consequence of this, the poet, in speaking of

them, gives the same precise character, as he has exhibited above, and specifies plainly their original.

[51] Οἱ δ' ἁλος εγγυς εοντες, επωνυμιην Φοινικες,
Των δ' ανδρων γενεης, οἱ Ερυθραιοι γεγαασιν,
Οἱ πρωτοι νηεσσιν επειρησαντο θαλασσης,
Πρωτοι δ' εμπορίης ἀλιδινεος εμνησαντο,
Και βαθυν ηρανιων ἀστρων πορον εφρασσαντο.

Upon the Syrian sea the people live,
Who style themselves Phenicians. These are sprung
From the true antient Erythrean stock;
From that sage race, who first assayed the deep,
And wafted merchandize to coasts unknown.
These too digested first the starry choir;
Their motions mark'd, and call'd them by their names.

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[51] Dionys. Perieg. v. 905. He adds, v. 910.

Οἱ τ' Ιοπην, και Γαζαν, Ελαϊδα τ' ενναιωσι.

He does not distinguish between the Philistim and the true Phoinices, who were of a different family. The former were the Caphtorim, of the Mizraim race; the latter Cuthites, of whom he says truly, v. 911. that they possessed,

Και Τυρον Ωγυγιην, Βηρυτω τ' αιαν ιραιην,
Βυβλον τ' αγχιαλον, κ. τ. λ.

Here they mixed with the sons of Canaan.

OF

EGYPT,

AND OF THE

ARRIVAL OF THE TITANS

IN THAT COUNTRY.

I HAVE mentioned, that there were two memorable occurrences in antient history, which the learned have been apt to consider as merely one event. The first was a regular migration of mankind in general by divine appointment: the second was the dispersion of the Cuthites, and their adherents, who had acted in defiance of this ordination. Of the consequences of their apostasy I have taken notice; and of their being scattered abroad into different parts. The Mizraim seem to have retired to their place of allotment a long time before these occurrences: and were attended by their brethren the sons of Phut. They had no share in the rebellion of the Cuthites; nor in the Titanic war, which ensued.

The country, of which they were seized, was that, which in aftertimes had the name of Upper Egypt. They called it the land of Mezor, and the land of Cham, from their two chief ancestors: which the Greeks rendered [1] Mesora, and [2] Chamia. The lower region was at that time in great measure a morass, and little occupied. The Caphtorim had made some settlements between Mount Casius and Pelusium; but were obliged to quit them, and return to [3] Palestina. In process of time, the Mizraim were divided into several great families, such as the Napthuhim, Lehabim, Ludim, Pathrusim, and others. They lived chiefly upon the lotos of the Nile, and the herb agrostis: and sheltered themselves under sheds of mean workmanship, which they

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[1] The land of Egypt is called Mestre, Μεστρη, by Josephus. Ant. l. 1. c. 7. also Μεστραια. Stephanus styles Egypt Muara, which is certainly a mistake for Musara, Μυσαρα, the land of Mysor. Cairo by the Arabs is now called Meser, and Mesre. See Leo Africanus, l. 8.

[2] The land of Ham by the Ionians, and later writers, was expressed Chemia. Αιγυπτον Χημιαν καλουσι. Plutarch. Is. et Osir. p. 364. By Stephanus it is compounded, and rendered Hermo-Chumius, Ἑρμο-Χυμιος, in the masculine. The Copti call it Chemi at this day.

[3] Amos, c. 9. v. 7. Jeremiah, c. 47. v. 4.

thatched with the flags of the [4] river. In process of time, they began to feed upon fish, which the same stream afforded; and were clothed with the skins of beasts. They held the river in high reverence; and supposed, that man had somehow a relation to [5] water. It is probable that some centuries lapsed, while they proceeded in this simple way of life, separated in a manner from the world, and unmolested by any foreign power. At last the Titanic brood, the Cuthites, being driven from Babylonia, fled to different parts: and one very large body of them betook themselves to Egypt. Eupolemus speaks of their dissipation, and calls them giants. [6] Πεσοντος δε τετε (τε Πυργε) ὑπο της τε Θεε ενεργειας, τους Γιγαντας διασπαρηναι καθ' ὁλην την γην. *When the tower of Babel was by the hand of Heaven overthrown, the Giants were scattered over the face of the earth.* We may perceive, from what has preceded, that they were a knowing and experienced people; of a family, which had been long engaged in opposition, and tried in some severe conflicts. As they had maintained them-

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[4] Diodorus Sic. l. 1. p. 41. Οικησεις εκ των καλαμων.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 418. Diodorus mentions that there was a gigantic brood in the time of Isis. l. 1. p. 23.

selves by a grand confederacy, they knew how to obey, and were sensible of the advantages of being under one head. It is then no wonder, that a people well disciplined, and united, should at once get the sovereignty over a nation so rude and unexperienced as the Mizraïm. They took Memphis with ease, which was then the frontier town in Egypt. This they held solely to themselves; and afterwards overran the whole region above, and kept it in subjection. Manethon therefore might very truly say, ῥᾳδιως και αμαχητι την χωραν ειλον. *They seized the country without the least opposition: not a single battle was hazarded.* There are many fragments of antient history which mention the coming of the Cuthites from Babylonia into the land of Mizraim; and the country changing its name. An account of this sort is to be found in Suidas. He tells us, that [7] *Ramesses, the son of Belus (of Babylonia) who was the son of Zeuth, came into the region called Mestræa, and gained the sovereignty, over the people of the country. He was the person whom they afterwards called Ægyptus; and the region was denominated from*

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[7] Αιγυπτος, ονομα κυριον· και ἡ χωρα των Αιγυπτιων· ὁτε αφικετο Ῥαμεσσης, ὁ υἱος Βηλω, τε και Διος, εις Μεσραιαν, εβασιλευσε των εκει· ὁν μετωνομασαν Αιγυπτον· αφ' ὁυ Αιγυπτος ἡ χωρα. See also Eusebii Chron. p. 29. Ῥαμεσσης—ὁ Αιγυπτος καλουμενος—μετωνομασεν την χωραν Αιγυπτον.

him. Others say, that it was [8] Sethos; others that it was Belus, who was called Ægyptus; and that from him the country had its name. [9] Βηλος τες Μελαμποδας χειρωσαμενος αφ' ἑαυτε την χωραν αυτων ωνομασεν Αιγυπτον. *Belus having conquered the Mizraim, styled Melampodes, called the country after one of his own titles, Ægyptus.* In all these cases, I have shewn, that for a singular we must put a plural; and by Belus understand a people styled Beleidæ, who came from Babylonia. Manethon, who was an Egyptian, gives the most particular account of their inroad. *We had once,* [10] says he, *a king named Timaüs, in whose reign, I know not why, it pleased God to visit us with a blast of his displeasure, when of a sudden there came upon this country, a large body of obscure people* (το γενος ασημοι) *from the east; who with great boldness invaded the land, and took it without opposition. The chief of our people they reduced to obedience, and then in a most cruel manner set fire to their towns, and overturned their temples. Their behaviour to the natives was very barbarous: for*

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[8] Αιγυπτος δε ἡ χωρα εκληθη απο τε βασιλεως Σεθως. Theoph. ad Autolycum. p. 392. There seems to be some mistake in this history; for Sethos was a king of later date.

[9] Scholia in Æsch. Prometh. p. 52.

[10] Josephus contra Apion. l. 1. p. 444.

they slaughtered the men, and made slaves of their wives and children. At length they constituted one of their body to be their king; whose name was Salatis. He resided at Memphis, holding all the Upper and Lower country tributary; and having garrisons in every place of consequence. He took particular care to secure every part to the east, as the Assyrians were then very powerful; and he foresaw, that they would one time or another make an attempt upon his kingdom. And having observed a city, which lay particularly commodious in the nome of Saïs, to the east of the Bubastite river, which was called Avaris (a name, that had some relation to the antient mythology of the country); he set about fortifying it in the strongest manner; placing in it a garrison of two hundred and forty thousand men. Hither he resorted in summer to receive the corn, which he exacted, and to pay his army; and at the same time to make a shew of exercising and disciplining his troops, by way of terror to other nations. He afterwards gives an account of six kings, who are represented *as in a continual state of hostility with the natives; and who seemed to labour, if possible, to root out the very name of an Egyptian.* The Shepherds are said to have maintained themselves in this situation for five hundred and eleven years. At last the natives of Upper Egypt rose in opposition to them, and defeated them under the conduct of king

Halisphragmuthosis. They afterwards beleagured them in their strong hold Avaris; which seems to have been a walled province, containing no less than ten thousand square [11] Arouræ. Here they maintained themselves for a long space: but at last under Thumosis, the son of the former king, they were reduced to such straits, as to be glad to leave the [12] country.

In the course of this history Manethon tells us, that the whole body of this people were called Ucsous, or as [13] Eusebius more truly expresses it, Ὑκουσως, Ucpusos. This term is analogous to Usiris, Uchoreus, and many other titles in Egypt; and undoubtedly means the Noble [14] Cusean. Manethon gives another interpretation; but owns, that Uc in the sacred language signified something

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[11] Καταλαβεσθαι δ' εις τοπον, αρουρων εχοντα μυριων την περιμετρον Αυαριν ονομα τω τοπω. Joseph. cont. Ap. l. 1. p. 445. Avaris was the city Aur, the Cercasora of Grecian writers, at the apex of Delta. Abaris was properly Abarim, the city of the passage near the mountain of Arabia. These two places are continually confounded. Avaris was from אור, the city of Orus: Abaris from עברי, so denominated from being situated in the passage into Upper Egypt, and guarding that pass. It was probably the same which was afterwards called Babylon. The two places were very near, which makes the mistake of more consequence.

[12] Manethon apud Josephum supra.

[13] Præp. Evang. l. 10. p. 500.

[14] See vol. 1. p. 95.

Royal. Υκ καθ' ἱεραν γλωσσαν βασιλεα σημαινει. Hence we may learn for certain, what was meant by the sacred language; and consequently, what was also the sacred character in Egypt: and be assured, that they were the antient Ethiopic, or Chaldaïc: for the original Ethiopia was no other than Chaldea. This writer adds, τινες δε λεγουσιν αυτους Αραβας ειναι: *but some say, that they were Arabians.* This is a title of the same purport; for the Arabians were originally Cuthites, or Ethiopians. Hence the province of Cushan in Egypt, the same as the land of Goshen, was called the Arabian nome; which was the best of the land of Egypt. They were also styled Hellenes, Phœnices, Auritæ; the last of which titles is of great consequence in the history and chronology of the country. The people so called were the first who reigned in Egypt: and with them the history of that people must commence. Syncellus, who follows the antient Chronicle, in speaking of the dynasties in the Egyptian chronology, mentions the Auritæ as the first who reigned. [15] Πρωτον των Αυριτων. They were the same as the Ἡμιθεοι, Semideï, who are placed in the same rank.

We are told by Manethon, that the whole

[15] Syncellus. p. 51.

body of this people had the appellation of Royal Shepherds. But I should imagine, that this title was more particularly given to their kings; who, by Africanus and others, are styled the [16] Hellenic and Royal Shepherds. It was a mark of distinction which they borrowed from their ancestors in Babylonia; among whom it seems to have been common. [17] It is remarkable, that the first tyrant upon earth masked his villainy under the meek title of a Shepherd. If we may credit the Gentile writers, it was under this pretext that Nimrod framed his opposition, and gained an undue sovereignty over his brethren. He took to himself the name of Orion, and Alorus; but subjoined the other abovementioned: and gave out that he was born to be a protector and guardian: or, as it is related from Berosus; [18] τονδε ὑπερ εωϋτε λογον διαδυναι, ὁτι μιν τε λεω ΠΟΙΜΕΝΑ ὁ Θεος αποδειξαι. *He spread a report abroad, that God had marked him out for a Shepherd to his people.* Hence this title was assumed by other kings of the country, as may be seen in the

[16] Ἐκκαιδεκατη δυναστεια Ποιμενες Ἑλληνες βασιλεις. Syncellus. p. 61.

[17] Ποιμενες δι βασιλεις λεγονται. Scholia in Æschyli Persas, v. 74. I am the Lord, that saith of Cyrus, he is my *Shepherd.* Isaiah. c. 44. v. 28.

[18] Abydenus apud Euseb. Chron. p. 5.

[19] Chaldaïc history: and from them it was borrowed by those of the family, who came into Egypt. It was a favourite appellation: and by this they may be traced, both here, and in every [20] settlement which they made. All their ancestors were esteemed of this profession; and most of their Gods were styled, Νομιοι και Ποιμενες, *Pastors and Shepherds;* particularly Dionusus, Orus, Pan, Zeuth, and Osiris. [21] An antient writer, alluding to the Cuthites in Egypt, and to their first king, styles the latter Telegonus, *a foreigner; one that came from a far country:* and he describes him as the son of Orus, *the Shepherd.* [22] Sub Acherre, in Ægypto regnavit Telegonus,

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[19] Αλωρον (ητοι Νεζρωδ) Ποιμενα. Δαως ποιμην. Abydenus. ibid. Δαωνον Ποιμενα βασιλευσαι. Apollodorus. ibid. p. 5. This title was probably borrowed from the church of God. The Deity seems from the most early times to have been represented as the Shepherd of his people. This was retained by those who were apostates from the truth. They gave it to the Gods, which they introduced; and assumed it themselves. Many types and allusions were borrowed from the same quarter.

[20] It obtained in Greece. Hence Ποιμην βασιλευς. Ποιμανωρ, ἀοιμην, η βασιλευς. Hesych. Ποιμανως, η βασιλευς. Scholia in Persas Æschyli. v. 241.

[21] Eusebii Chron. Hieron. Interprete. p. 14.

[22] Syncellus expresses it Acheres. p. 155.

Acheres, like Uchorus, is probably a compound of Ach or Uch, and Heres; *the great Sun.*

Ori *Pastoris* filius. The name Acherres is a compound of Heres, pronounced Cheres, and Cherres, the Sun. Most of the primitive occurrences in Egypt are appropriated to the reigns of Apis, Orus, Vulcan, Timaus, the same as Tamus and Thamuz. These were all sacred titles, and did not relate to any particular king. For, notwithstanding the boasted antiquity, and the endless dynasties of the Egyptians, they had in reality no king of the country to whose time these facts could be referred. Their first monarchs were certainly the Cuthites styled Auritæ, who built the city Aur, called Avaris, in the land of Goshen, and nome of Heliopolis. Telegonus is above said to have been the offspring of a Deity: for it was usual for persons to be denominated the children of the God whom they worshipped. From hence it arose, that this foreigner was styled the son of Orus; and his people in like manner were called the Oritæ or Auritæ; as I have mentioned before. They likewise esteemed themselves the offspring of Zeuth: and are said to have been the first after the Gods who reigned in Egypt. These Gods were no other than their principal ancestors; whose names were in aftertimes prefixed to the lists of their kings. Alexander the Great, in a very large letter to his mother Olympias, takes notice of this intelligence, which he had extorted from one of their priests. He

learned from this person the secret history of the country; and, among other things, that after Hephaistus, or Vulcanus, succeeded the offspring of Zeuth. These were deified men, to whom divine honours were paid; and who were the Dæmones and Ἡμιθεοι of after ages. [23] Alexander ille magnus, Macedo, insigni volumine ad matrem suam scripsit, metu suæ potestatis proditum sibi de Diis hominibus, a sacerdote secretum. Illic Vulcanum facit omnium principem; et postea Jovis gentem.

However they may have degenerated afterwards, their religion at first was the purest Zabaïsm. They worshipped the sun and the moon, and other celestial bodies: but had no images; nor admitted any resemblance by way of adoration. The Egyptians seem to have been quite the reverse; and were lapsed into a gross species of idolatry. This was the reason, when the Cuthites came among them, that they ruined their temples, and overthrew their altars; not being able to bear the baseness of their superstition. They were however of great service to this people, and compensated for the evil which they are said to have brought upon them. Their history is continually alluded to by antient writers,

[23] Minucii Felicis Octavius. 163.

who point out the country from whence they came. Eusebius takes notice of a tradition of the Ethiopians arrival in these parts; and says, that they came from the river [24] Indus. I have shewn, that the Tigris was the original river called Indus: that the Choaspes, a branch of it, was said, [25] ἑλκειν Ινδον ὑδωρ, *to furnish an Indic stream:* and this name came from the sons of Chus; who both in these parts, and in others, where they settled, were peculiarly styled Indi. Stephanus Byzantinus, speaking of the antient names of Egypt, among others mentions, that it was called [26] Musara, and Aëtia; which last it received from one Aëtus, *an Indian.* I have taken notice, that the name Ægyptus was from the same quarter; and that it was conferred by a son of Belus of Babylonia. Eustathius gives a like account of the antient names of Egypt; and says, that it was called Aëtia from one Aëtus, an

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[24] Αιθιοπες απο Ινδε ποταμε αναχαντες προς τη Αιγυπτῳ ῳκησαν. Euseb. Chron. p. 26. Syncellus. p. 151.

Αιθιοπας τοινυν ἱστορησι πρωτους ἁπαντων γεγονεναι, και τας αποδειξεις τουτων εμφανεις ειναι—Φασι δε και τους Αιγυπτιους αποικους ἑαυτων ὑπαρχειν, Οσιριδος ἡγησαμενε της αποικιας. Diodorus Sic. l. 3. p. 143, 144.

[25] Dionys. περιηγης. v. 1074.

[26] Μυαρα (read Μυσαρα)—και Αετια, απο τινος Ινδε Αετε. See also Scholia in Dionys. v. 239.

Indian. He adds, that it was also called Ethiopia, from a body of Ethiopians who settled there, [27] περι ων πολλοι των παλαιων ιστορεσι; *of whom many of the antient historians make mention.* They might well take notice of them, for their arrival was a wonderful æra, and much to be remembered in the annals of Ægypt. Though they behaved in a tyrannical manner, yet they performed mighty works, and benefited the country greatly. Their very oppression obliged the Mizraïm to exert themselves, and afforded them an opportunity of improving both in literature and arms. Hence the latter were of necessity enriched with much knowledge, to which otherwise they had been strangers.

At the time when the Cuthite Ethiopians arrived, Lower Egypt was in great measure a [28] morass: but under their direction it was drained by numerous canals, and rendered the most beautiful country in the world. They carried a sluice with vast labour from the Pelusiac branch of the

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[27] Εκληθη δε ποτε κατα την ιστοριαν η τοιαυτη χωρα, και Αιρια, και Ποταμια, και Αιθιοπια δια τους εκει Αιθιοπας, κτλ. Eustath. in Dionys. ad v. 239. See Eusebii Chron. p. 29.

[28] Καθολυ γαρ την νυν ουσαν Αιγυπτον λεγουσιν ου χωραν, αλλα θαλατταν γεγονεναι κτλ. Diodor. l. 3. p. 144.

Πασα η χωρα ποταμοχωτος. Ibid.

Θαλασσα γαρ ην η Αιγυπτος. Plut. Is. et Osiris. p. 367.

Nile to the western gulf of the Red Sea. Part of it remains at this day, and passes through Grand Cairo towards Matarea, and is kept up with [29] great care. The chief of the pyramids at Cochome were erected by them. Herodotus mentions a tradition of their being built in the time of the Shepherd [30] Philitis, when Egypt was under great calamities; when princes reigned whose names were held by the people in abomination. The modern Arabs have accounts of their being built by [31] Iän Ebn Iän. By this is signified, that they were constructed by the Iönim, the sons of that Iön, called Ionas, and Ionichus, of Babylonia. Juba in his history took notice, that the city Heliopolis was not the work of the native Egyptians, but of [32] Arabians: by which name the sons of Chus are continually distinguished. They raised the most antient obelisks in Egypt; which were formed of one piece, yet of an amazing size: and the granate, of which they consist, is so hard, that scarcely any tool now-a-days can make an impression. Hence it is matter of wonder, how they were originally framed and

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[29] See Pocock, and Norden's Travels in Egypt.

[30] Herod. l. 2. c. 128.

[31] Herbelot Biblioth. Oriental.

[32] Plin. l. 6. p. 343.

engraved. They were full of hieroglyphics, curiously wrought; which, as we learn from Cassiodorus, were antient [33] Chaldaïc characters. These were the sacred characters of Egypt, known only to the [34] priests; which had been introduced by the Cuthite Ethiopians.

I have often taken notice of a common mistake among the Greek and Roman writers; who, when the sacred terms grew obsolete, supposed the Deity of the temple to have been the person by whom it was built. Thus it is said of the Chaldaïc God Mithras, that he first erected the obelisks in Egypt. [35] Primus omnium id (obeliscorum erectionem) instituit Mitres, qui in Solis Urbe regnavit, somnio jussus. Mitres was no other than Mithras, the same as Arez, and Osiris, who was greatly reverenced in the eastern world.

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[33] Obeliscorum prolixitas ad Circi altitudinem sublevatur: sed prior Soli, inferior Lunæ dicatus est: ubi sacra priscorum *Chaldaïcis* signis, quasi literis, indicantur. Cassiodorus. l. 3. Epist. 2. and Epist. 51.

They had two sorts of letters. Διφασιοισι δε γραμμασι χρεωνται. Herod. l. 2. c. 36.

[34] Plin. l. 36. c. 8.

[35] By this, however, is pointed out the nome in which the Cuthites settled: the same as Zoan, of which Goshen was a part.

He did not reign at [36] Heliopolis; but was there adored: nor did he raise the obelisks; but they were erected to his honour. His rites were introduced into Egypt by the people abovementioned. But he was more commonly represented under the character of Osiris and Orus. Stephanus, in like manner, speaks of Mithras, as a man, and joins him with Phlegyas. He says, [36] that *these two were the authors of the Ethiopic rites and worship: for they were by birth Ethiopians: which people were the first nation constituted in the world; and the first, which enacted laws, and taught men to reverence the Gods.* All this is true of the Chaldaïc Ethiopians. A large body of this people settled in Ethiopia above Egypt: and from their history we may learn how much the Egyptians were indebted to their ancestors. They in some degree looked upon the Egyptians as a [37] colony from their family; and so far is true, that they were a draft from the great Amonian

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[36] Την γαρ Αιθιοπιαν γην πρωτην παγηναι, πρωτοι δε Θεους τιμησαι, και νομοις εχρησαντο. Ονομαζουσι δε τους αιτιους τουτων Μιθραν και Φλεγυαν, ανδρας Αιθιοπας το γενος. Steph. Byzant. By this we find, that the sons of Chus, called here Ethiopians, were the first constituted people, and the authors of idolatrous rites.

[37] Φασι δε Αιγυπτιους αποικους εαυτων υπαρχειν. Diodor. l. 3. p. 144.

body, of which the Mizraim and the Cuthites were equally a part. Nothing can more satisfactorily prove that the Cuthite Ethiopians had been in Egypt, and ruled there, than the laws of the [38] country, which were plainly Ethiopic. And not only the laws, but, as we are assured by [39] Diodorus, the rites of sepulture, and the honours paid to the antient kings, their ancestors, were Ethiopic Institutions. I have mentioned from Cassiodorus, that the sacred characters upon the obelisks were of Chaldaïc original; which is the same as [40] Ethiopic. In confirmation of this, Diodorus tells us, that these characters in Egypt were known only to a few who were of the priesthood. But that in Ethiopia they were the national character, and universally [41] understood. In short, this writer assures us, that the rites in both nations had a great resemblance, so as to be nearly the [42] same. The

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[38] Τα δε πλειστα των νομιμων τοις Αιγυπτιοις υπαρχειν Αιθιοπικα. Diodor. l. 3. p. 144.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Diodorus makes mention Αιθιοπικων γραμματων των παρ' Αιγυπτιοις καλουμενων Ἱερογλυφικων. p. 145.

[41] Παρα δε τοις Αιθιοψιν απαντας τουτοις χρησθαι τοις τυποις. p. 144.

[42] Τατε συστηματα των Ἱερων παραπλησιαν εχειν ταξιν παρα αμφοτεροις τοις εθνεσι. Ibid.

priests in each were recluse, and given to celibacy. They alike used the tonsure, and wore a garment of linen: and they used to carry in their hands a sceptre, or staff, which at the top had τυπον αροτροειδη, *the representation of a plough;* undoubtedly in memorial of their ancestor, ανθρωπος γης, *the great husbandman.* Their bonnets, as well as those of their kings, were ornamented with figures of serpents: for they held the serpent as sacred, and were addicted to the Ophite worship.

Among the cities which the Cuthites built in Egypt, there was one in the nome called Men El Ai (Μενελαϊτης), or Provincia Dei Luni. This city was called Canobus, and was opposite to the island Argæus. The Grecians ascribed the building of this city to Menelaus of Sparta: but Aristides assures us, that it was far prior to the æra, when that personage was supposed to have been in Egypt. [43] *I was told,* says this writer, *from a priest of consequence at Canobus, that this place had its name many ages before the arrival of Me-*

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[43] Εγωγε ηκουσα εν Κανωβῳ των Ἱερεων ου τυ φαυλοτατυ, ὁτι μυριοις ετεσι προτερον η Μενελαον εκεισε προσχειν, το χωριον ὑτως ωνομαζετο. και ὑκ αντικρυς μεν ελεγε τ᾽ ὑνομα τυτ᾽ αυτο, ως απογραφαι γραμμασιν Ἑλληνικοις, αλλ᾽ (ὑκ) ην μεν ὡσπερ εμφερομενον, και περιτροχον, Αιγυπτιον δε και δυσγραμματον μαλλον· τοδ᾽ εν ἡμετερᾳ φωνῃ δηλοι χρυσουν εδαφος. Aristid. Oratio Ægypt. vol. 3. p. 608.

nelaus. He did not mention the name of the place so articulately, as to give me an opportunity of expressing it in Grecian characters. Besides, it did not correspond with our idiom: nor was it round and smooth, but quite of the Egyptian cast, and hard to be uttered. Thus much I learned from him, that it signified a golden foundation. I make no doubt but the term, upon which the priest founded his notion, was Cuthim; which undoubtedly signifies gold: but at the same time it it is the plural of Cuth, and relates to the Cuthites. The later Egyptians did but very imperfectly understand their original language, and misinterpreted their traditions. The original terms certainly signified a Cuthite foundation. They related not to gold, but to the [44] Cuthim, who founded the city Canobus upon the lower and most western part of Delta.

The sacred emblems in use among this people were at first innocent, but in time proved the source of much superstition. Many of these were taken from the forms of animals, by which they distinguished both the titles and attributes of their

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[44] The terms were probably אדן כתם, Adon Cuthim. They may be interpreted a golden foundation, or a Cuthite foundation, indifferently. Adon Cuthim may also refer to Canobus, the God of the Cuthites. Adon Cuthim, Deus Cuthæorum.

Gods. By these means the Deity and the animal had the same name; and the latter, in consequence of it, was entitled to much honour and reverence. As all their cities were denominated from some God, they seem to have made use of these animals as so many devices, by which their cities were distinguished. Hence we read of Lycopolis, Leontopolis, Latopolis, and the city of Mendes, the goat. The hawk, the ibis, the crocodile, the dog, were all used for sacred marks of distinction. After the Cuthites had drained Lower Egypt, and had there built cities, it is probable that every city had some one of these sacred emblems represented in sculpture, either upon the gates, or upon the entablature, of their temples. This characteristic denoted its name, as well as the title of the Deity, to whom the place was sacred. And the Deity in those cities was often worshipped under such particular symbol. This is plainly alluded to in some of the poets. They have represented the dispersion of the sons of Chus from Babel, as the flight of the Gods into Egypt; where they are supposed to have sheltered themselves under the form of these sacred animals. Ovid, in particular, describes this flight; and though he has in some degree confounded the history, yet the original purport may, I think, be plainly discerned. What I allude to

is to be found in the song of the Pica, when she contends with the Muses.

[45] Bella canit Superûm; falsoque in honore Gigantas
Ponit, et extenuat magnorum facta Deorum.
Emissumque imâ de sede Typhoëa narrat
Cœlitibus fecisse metum; cunctosque dedisse
Terga fugæ: donec fessos Ægyptia tellus
Ceperit, et septem discretus in ostia Nilus.
Huc quoque Terrigenam venisse Typhoëa narrat,
Et se mentitis Superos celâsse figuris.
Duxque gregis, dixit, fit Jupiter: unde recurvis
Nunc quoque formatus Libys est cum cornibus Ammon.
Delius in corvo, proles Semeleïa capro,
Fele soror Phœbi, niveâ Saturnia vaccâ,
Pisce Venus latuit, Cyllenius Ibidis alis.

Ovid distinguishes between the Giants and the Gods, through mistake. The Giants, or Titans, were the Deities, who fled; and Typhon, the same as Typhœus, by which is meant divine vengeance, pursued them. The solution of the history is obvious. It amounts to this; that the

[45] Metamorph. l. 5. v. 319.

Cuthites fled from Typhon, or Typhœus, and betook themselves to Egypt, where they sheltered themselves. Here they built many cities, where they instituted the religion of their country; and where their exiled Deities were in aftertimes worshipped under different symbols; such as a ram, a lion, a [46] goat, and the like. Of these Deities I have before taken notice, and shewn, that they were the chief ancestors of the Cuthites; from some of whom the Egyptians were equally descended. Hence they also looked upon themselves as the offspring of the Gods. [47] Οι σοφωτατοι Αιγυπτιοι, θεων απογονοι.

It is extraordinary that Manethon, in speaking of the Cuthites, should describe them as το γενος ασημοι, *people of an obscure and ignoble race.* This cannot be rendered consistent with their general character. They were the descendants of persons well known, who were represented even by their enemies as a race of superior beings. They were styled Gods, and Demigods, and the children of Heaven. The Egyptians, who hated their tyranny, yet, in some degree, revered their memory. They are called by Manethon *the Royal Shep-*

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[46] See Antoninus Liberalis from Nicander, concerning the changes, which the Gods underwent upon their flight from Typhon into Egypt. Fab. 28. p. 145.

[47] Callisthenes apud Fabricium. vol. 14. p. 148.

herds; and are also styled Phœnices, and Hellenes: which terms, whether they were understood or not by the writers, who have transmitted them, were certainly titles of the highest honour. They were a people who valued themselves greatly upon their descent, and kept up the best memorials of their family. They pretended to be derived from the [48] Sun; and were called Heliadæ, or the Solar Race. They were the descendants of the original Titanians, who were so highly reverenced by their posterity, and whom Orpheus addresses, as the origin of the [49] Hellenic nations. In consequence of this, I cannot help thinking, that what is rendered ασημος, was an antient term of a very different purport. Manethon wrote in Greek; and being led by the ear, has changed this word to one familiar to him in that language; by which means he has well nigh ruined a curious piece of history. What he has rendered Asemos, *ignoble*, the Dorians would have expressed Asamos; which in the original was Asamah, *noble and divine.* By this was signified, that the Shepherds were of a [50] royal or celestial race, the chil-

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[48] Ραμισσης Ηλιυ παις. From Hermapion in Marcellinus. l. 17. p. 126.

[49] Orphic. Hymn. 36.

[50] Analogous to חשמן, Hasamen, of the Hebrews, which signifies Princes.

dren of Heaven. Asamah was the name of the Deity among the Samaritans and Syrians. The God of Hamath was called [51] Asamah: and in the antient Samaritan Pentateuch it is said to have been made use of as the name of the true God: for instead of the words, *In principio creavit Deus*, there was substituted, *In principio creavit Asamah.* Some think that this is only a false imputation of the Jews, who hated the Samaritans. It may possibly be false, that the term was thus applied: yet it shews, that such a title certainly existed, and was in use. The people of Hamath, who were transplanted into the land of Israel, built a city of this name, undoubtedly in honour of their country [52] God. Selden expresses it Asima; and assures us that there was such a Deity. [53] Deum fuisse Asima, et sacra [54] Scriptura, et citatus Jo-

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[51] Selden de Diis Syris. Syntag. 2. p. 252.

Asama was the name of a river in Mauritania. Ptol. Geogr. l. 4. c. 1. Fluvius sacer, vel divinus.

[52] Asima oppidum in terrâ Judæ, quod ædificârunt hi, qui ad eam venerant de Emat. Hieron. in Locis Hebræis. Asama seems to be in purport the same as Ουρανος; and to relate to Sam and Samah, Cœlum. The priests of this Deity were called Samanæi; and were to be found in many parts of the world. See Clemens Alexand. and others.

[53] Selden de Diis Syris. Syntag. 2. c. 9. p. 252.

[54] 2 Kings. c. 27. v. 30.

sephi locus ostendunt. From the above I am inclined to think, that the original term related to [55] Heaven; and was of a different purport from that, by which it is rendered in Manethon. It was a title, I imagine, common among the Syrians, and all the family of Ham.

From some circumstances not well explained in the history of the Cuthite Shepherds, Josephus has been induced to think, that they were his ancestors; and that the account given by Manethon related entirely to the sojournment of the sons of Israel in Egypt. Sir John Marsham dissents from him; and with good reason: for the histories of the two people are repugnant, and can never be reconciled. Among other arguments, he takes notice, that the Israelites, when they came into Egypt, were in number but seventy; whereas the Shepherds were two hundred and [56] forty thousand. The former were in a state of servitude, and grievously oppressed: but the latter exercised lordship; and made their whole land tributary. Add to this, that the Israelites were detained; and refused the leave they sued for, to

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[55] Analagous to Samah of the Arabians, שמה.

[56] Marsham's Chronol. sec. 8. p. 101. and sec. 12. p. 309. Herman Witsius refers the history of the Shepherds to Abraham. l. 3. p. 210.

depart. The Shepherds would not go, till they were by force driven out of the country. These arguments alone are of such force, as to set aside the notions of Josephus. Had he not been blinded with too great zeal for his countrymen, the author whom he quotes, affords sufficient evidence to overturn his hypothesis. Manethon plainly specifies two sets of people, one of which succeeded to the other. The first were the Cuthite Shepherds from Babylonia: the second were the Israelites, who had the land given to them, which the former had deserted. This was the district of Auris, or Avaris; which the Cuthites had fortified, and in which they were finally besieged. After their departure, it was demolished by king Amosis, as we are informed by Apion: [57] κατεσκαψη γαρ την Αβαριν Αμωσις. It was afterwards given to the Israelites by Amenophis, who is represented as third inclusive from Amosis. [58] Την τοτε των Ποιμενων ερημωθεισαν πολιν Αυαριν συνεχωρησεν (Αμενοφις). *Upon the people being distressed, Amenophis granted them for an habitation, the city Avaris, which had been deserted by the Shepherds.*

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[57] Tatianus Assyrius. p. 273.
Clemens Alexand. Strom. l. 1. p. 379. Euseb. Præp. l. 10. c. 11.

[58] Josephus contra Ap. l. 1. p. 460.

It was not merely a city, but, as I have before mentioned, a walled province; for it contained no less than ten thousand square [59] arouræ. In this was a city Aur, אור, called Avaris, and Aouaris, Αυαρις, by the Grecians; the Cercasora of Mela, and other writers. Manethon particularizes the people, to whom this district was ceded; though he has in many respects sadly confounded their history. He says, that they were employed in acts of servitude, and greatly oppressed: but they were delivered, and formed into a republic, by one, who was their lawgiver, and whose name was [60] Moses. These data, though culled out of a deal of heterogeneous matter, are very clear, and determinate: and if learned men, instead of trying to adapt these plain facts to the flood of Ogyges, the æra of Argos, or the landing of Danaus in Greece, had chosen to abide by what is so evident and satisfactory, the history of Egypt would have been less obscure. But the Fathers, through whose hands we receive the greatest part of our knowledge, are all to a man misled by these notions: and the testimony of the best historians is set aside, because it does not agree with some preconceived opinion; being found either too much

[59] Josephus contra Ap. l. 1. p. 446.

See Observations upon the Antient History of Egpyt. v. vi. p. 158. 160.

[60] Και προσηγορευθη Μωϋσης. Josephus cont. Ap. l. 1. p. 461.

before, or after, the reign of Phoroneus, and Apis; or the landing of Cadmus, the Phenician. In respect to the history of the Shepherds, the best writers have been greatly mistaken, by proceeding always upon extremes. They suppose, either that the people spoken of were solely the Israelites, which is the opinion of Josephus, and his adherents: or else that they were a people entirely of another race; and appropriate the history accordingly. But there is a medium to be observed: for it is certain that they were two separate bodies of people, who came at different times: and they are plainly distinguished by Manethon. Those, who are mentioned with Moses, are posterior to the others, and inhabited the very province which the former had vacated. It is likewise mentioned by the same writer, that these second Shepherds were once under the rule of an [61] Heliopolitan, a person of great influence; who advised them not to reverence the sacred animals of the country, nor regard the gods: nor to intermarry with the Egyptians; but to confine themselves to those of their own family. The name of this person was Οσαρσιφος, Osarsiph. Now I am persuaded, that Osarsiph is nothing else but a mis-

[61] Joseph. contra Ap. l. 1. p. 460.

take in arrangement for[62] Sar-Osiph, *the Lord Osiph*, by which, no doubt, is meant Joseph of the Scriptures. Manethon has to be sure greatly confused the account, and at the close says, that Osarsiph at last changed his name to Moses; by which means he would make them appear as the same person. He has likewise interspersed much foreign matter, and is guilty of gross anachronisms; notwithstanding which, he affords sufficient light to ascertain the history of the two people. And in respect to the Israelitish Shepherds, we may be assured, that by Sar-Osiph they were introduced into Egypt; and that they were led out of it by Moses. Joseph was the cause of great wealth and plenty to the Egyptians, and was accordingly esteemed a great benefactor. They likewise looked upon him as a revealer of hidden mysteries, a discloser of the will of the

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[62] Sar is a Prince, and the term continually occurs in the history of Egypt, and of other countries: hence we read of Sarchon, Sar-don or Sar-Adon, Sar-Apis, Sar-Apion, Sar-Adon-Pul; or Sardanapalus. The name of Sarah was the same as Hera, *Lady*. See vol. I. of this work. p. 91. It was sometimes expressed Zar. The captain of the guard to the king of Babylon was styled Nebo-Zar-Adon. 2 Kings. c. 25. v. 11. The feminine was Zarina. Diodorus Siculus mentions a Queen of the Sacæ, called Ζαρινα, Zarina; which undoubtedly was not a proper name, but a title. See Diod. l. 2. p. 119.

Gods. In consequence of this they styled him Hermes, which signifies an interpreter. Hence came ἑρμηνευειν, and ἑρμηνευτης, among the Greeks. There is a remarkable account of this Hermes in the Chronicon Paschale, and Cedrenus, which is worthy to be mentioned. [63] It is said of him, that *he was envied by his brethren*, who are represented as *seventy in number*. That *finding they*

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[63] Γνους δε (Ἑρμης) ὁτι διαφθονουνται αυτῳ οἱ αδιλφοι αυτυ·—ηβουλοντο γαρ αυτον φονευσαι, ὡς οντες πολλοι, περιπου ἑβδομηκοντα, —ανεχωρησεν, και απερχεται εις την Αιγυπτον προς την φυλην τυ Χαμ, υἱυ Νωε, ὁι τινες εδεξαντο αυτον εν τιμῃ. και διετριβεν εκει ὑπερηφανων παντας, και φορων την χρυσῃν στολην εφιλοσοφει παρα τοις Αιγυπτιοις, λεγων αυτοις μαντειας μελλοντων· ην γαρ φυσει σφοδρα λογικος. Και προσηκυνουν, αυτον λεγοντες Θεον Ἑρμην, ὡς λεγοντα μελλοντα, και διακοινοντα αυτοις εκ τυ Θευ των μελλοντων την αποκρισιν· και παρεχοντα αυτοις χρηματα, ὁντινα και πλυτοδοτην εκαλουν, ὡς τυ χρυσυ Θεον ονομαζοντες. Ὁτε ουν αυτος Ἑρμης εις την Αιγυπτον ηλθεν, εβασιλευσε των Αιγυπτιων τοτε εκ τυ γενυς τυ Χαμ ὁ Μεσρεμ. κλ. Chronicon. Pasch. p. 44. 45. Cedrenus. p. 18. I have omitted a deal of extraneous matter: for these authors have strangely perplexed this curious history. They imagine Hermes to have been the same as Faunus, the son of Jupiter, and suppose that he reigned after Picus in Italy; though in the same page Cedrenus tells us, that he succeeded Mizraïm in Egypt. Μεσρεμ τυ υἱυ Χαμ, τυ εκει βασιλευοντος, αποθανοντος, ευθυς αναγορευεται. *Mizraim, the son of Ham, who was king of the country, dying, Hermes was elected in his room.* See Credenus. p. 18. He is placed in the reign of Sesostris: επι τυτυ Ἑρμην φασιν εν Αιγυπτῳ, θαυμαστον ανδρα, γνωσθηναι και φοβερας επι σαφια. Cedrenus. p. 20.

were continually laying snares for him, and consulting how they might destroy him, he went into Egypt, προς την φυλην τε Χαμ, *to the sons of Ham, where he was received with great honour. Here he resided in much state, being superior to every body, and he was clothed with a particular robe of gold. He proved himself, in many instances, to be both a philosopher and a prophet; and foretold many things, being by nature nobly endowed. They therefore reverenced him as a Deity; and conferred upon him the name of Hermes, on account of his prophecies, and for having interpreted to them those oracles which they had received from heaven. And as he had been the cause of great riches to their nation, they styled him the dispenser of wealth; and esteemed him the God of gain. When he came into Egypt, Mizram, the son of Ham, reigned there.* This account is very curious, and seems to have been taken from some antient Egyptian history. It is, as I have observed in respect to other national records, in some measure perverted and obscured; yet the outlines are plain, and even in the mistakes we may see allusions to true history, however misapplied. The Egyptians acknowledged two personages under the titles of Hermes, and of Thoth. The first was the most antient of the [64] Gods, and the

[64] Euseb. Præp. l. 1. c. 10. p. 32.

head of all. The other was styled the second Hermes; and likewise for excellence called Τρισμεγιστος, Trismegistus. There are histories given of this Hermes Trismegistus, which will be found to accord very much with those of the Hermes mentioned above: and his real name will appear to be very similar to Osarsiph, of whom we have before treated. This person is said to have been a great adept in mysterious knowledge, and an interpreter of the will of the Gods. He particularly decyphered all that was written in the sacred [65] language upon the obelisks *in Terrâ Seriadicâ;* and instructed the Egyptians in many useful arts. He was a great prophet; and on that account was looked upon as a [66] divinity. To him they ascribed the reformation of the Egyptian [67] year; and there were many [68] books either written by him, or concerning him, which were preserved by the Egyptians in the most sacred recesses of their temples, and held in high esteem.

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[65] Manethon apud Syncell. p. 40.

Ælian mentions τα του Ἑρμου νομιμα. Var. Hist. l. 14. p. 399.

[66] Clemens Alexand. Strom. l, 1. p. 399.

[67] Hermes by Censorinus is styled Arminus. Annum Ægyptium, cum novissime Arminon ad *duodecim* menses et dies quinque perduxisse (ferunt). c. 19. p. 103. So corrected by Scaliger.

[68] Clemens supra. Jamblichus. sect. 8. c. 1.

We are [69] told, that the true name of this Hermes was Siphoas. We have here, I think, an instance of the same confusion of elements, as was observed in Osarsiph. For what is Siphoas but Aosiph misplaced? And is not Aosiph the Egyptian name of the Patriarch, who was called יוסף by the Hebrews.

The names of those Shepherd kings, who are said to have reigned in Egypt, are transmitted to us by Manethon, Africanus, and Syncellus. But these authors differ greatly, both in respect to the names themselves, and to the years which the [70] kings reigned. The first of them is by Manethon called Salatis; but by Africanus, and Eusebius, the name is rendered Saïtis. From hence, I think, we may be assured, that Salatis is a mistake, and transposition for [71] Al-Saïtis, or Al-Saït; which was not a proper name, but a title of the prince, and related to the country which he governed. Saït was one of the antient names of Upper Egypt; whence the colonies,

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[69] Eratosthenes apud Syncellum. Σιφωας, ὁ και Ἑρμης, υἱος Ηφαιστου. p. 124. supposed to have been a king.

[70] See Marsham's Chron. sæc. 8. p. 100.

[71] Πρωτος Σαϊτης. Euseb. Chron. p. 16. Syncellus. p. 61. I am obliged to differ from what I have said in a former treatise.

which went from thence, were called [72] Saïtæ; and that region has the name of [73] Said at this [74] day. Saïtis therefore, and Al-Saïtis, signify the Saïte Prince, and are both the same title. The names of the other kings seem to be equally exceptionable.

The Shepherds are said to have resided in Egypt five hundred and eleven years. But the total of the reigns of those who are specified, amounts only to two hundred and fifty-nine, if we may credit Manethon and Syncellus; though Africanus makes them two hundred and eighty-four. According to Eusebius, they amounted only to one [75] hundred and three. I take therefore for granted, that the five hundred and eleven years relate to the Israelitish, as well as to the Cuthite Shepherds: and that the residence of both people is comprehended in that term: for the accounts of them are certainly blended. And as the one did not succeed to the other immediately, that interval also is taken into the computation. This

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[72] Αθηναιους αποικους Σαϊτων. Diodor. l. 1. p. 24.

[73] Leo Africanus. l. 8.

[74] In the Arabic version, the land of Goshen is rendered Sadir.

[75] Regnaverunt Pastores annis centum tribus. Euseb. Chron. Versio. Lat. p. 12. According to the old Chronicle, they reigned two hundred and seventeen years. Syncellus. p. 51.

estimate, upon examination, will be found to agree with all the circumstances of history; and will serve for a clue to ascertain other events. The children of Israel were two hundred and fifteen years in Egypt: and Joseph had been there [76] twenty-one years, when he introduced his brethren into that country. These amount together to two hundred and thirty-six years. The years of the former Shepherds, according to Manethon and Syncellus, were two hundred and fifty-nine: which, added to the above, amount to four hundred and ninety-five years. These fall short of five hundred and eleven just sixteen years: which I imagine to have been the interval between the departure of the Cuthites, and the arrival of [77] Joseph. But if the numbers of

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[76] Joseph was carried into Egypt when he was seventeen years old. Genesis. c. 37. v. 2. He was thirty years old when he first stood before Pharaoh. Gen. c. 41. v. 46. He saw seven years of plenty, and two of famine: so that when he invited his brethren into Egypt, he had resided 21 years complete.

	Years.
[77] The first Shepherds resided	259
Between their departure and the coming of Joseph .	16
Joseph resided before the arrival of his brethren 21 years complete	21
The Israelitish Shepherds were in Egypt	215
	511

[78] Africanus be true, those added to the years of the Israelitish Shepherds make four hundred and ninety-nine, and leave an interval of twelve years only. According to this computation, the Cuthites left the country after Joseph had been in Egypt some time, and only twelve years before the arrival of his brethren. I should think the former computation the nearest to the truth: though we may either way account for the land of Goshen lying vacant; and for the city Avaris being [79] unoccupied. Joseph therefore tells his brethren, that they must say to Pharaoh, that they were shepherds; because he foresaw, that they would then be entitled to the best of the land of Egypt. This was Goshen, called from the late inhabitants Tabir Cushan; and in after-times the Arabian nome. In conformity to this the province is by Bar-Bahlul, the Syriac Lexicographer, rendered Cushatha, as having been the antient Cuthite region. It lay in the region

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[78] 284 The time of the first Shepherds, according to Africanus.
215 The time of the Israelites.

499 This subtracted from 511, leaves only twelve years. By this estimate the first Shepherds left Egypt twelve years before the others arrived.

[79] We find that it was converted to pasture ground, and possessed merely by some herdsmen. Genesis. c. 47. v. 6.

of Heliopolis, the Zoan of the Scriptures, at the extreme part of Delta; between the mountain of Arabia to the east, and the plain of the pyramids westward. The city Avaris seems to have been rebuilt, and to have been called Cush-Aur, and Cer-Cushaur; the Cercasora of [80] Mela, and Herodotus. Cer-Cushora signifies the city of the Cushan-Oritæ.

The sons of Chus seem to have come into Egypt immediately after their dispersion from Babel. And as their arrival was five hundred and eleven years before the Exodus, this will carry us in computation as far back as to the time of Terah; and to the sixth year before the birth of Abraham. About this time, I imagine, was the confusion of speech, and the dispersion abovementioned. If then we recapitulate the great occurrences of the first ages, as they have been transmitted to us both by sacred and profane historians; we shall find that they happened in the following manner and order. When there was a great increase of mankind, it was thought proper, that they should separate, and retire to their several departments. Their destination was by divine appointment: and there was accordingly a

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[80] Nilus juxta Cercasorum oppidum triplex esse incipit. Mela. l. 1. c. 9. p. 51.

regular migration of families from Araratia in Armenia. The sons of Chus seem to have gone off in a disorderly manner: and having for a long time roved eastward, they at last changed their direction, and came to the plains of Shinar. Here they seized upon the particular region which had fallen to the lot of Assur. He was therefore obliged to retreat, and to betake himself to the higher regions of Mesopotamia. In process of time the Cuthites seem to have increased greatly in strength and numbers; and to have formed a plan for a mighty empire. People of other families flocked in unto them: and many of the line of Shem put themselves under their dominion. They were probably captivated with their plausible refinements in religion, and no less seduced by their ingenuity, and by the arts, which they introduced. For they must certainly be esteemed great in science, if we consider the times in which they lived. The tower of Babel, which their imperious leader had erected, seems to have been both a temple, and landmark, from which they had formed a resolution never to recede. It therefore seemed good to divine Providence to put a stop to this growing confederacy: and, as they had refused to retire regularly, to force them by judgments to flee away, and to scatter them into different parts. The Ethnic writers, as I have before mentioned, speak of many fearful

events which attended the dispersion, particularly of earthquakes, and hurricanes, and fiery meteors, which the apostates could not withstand. Many of the sacred writers, though they do not speak determinately, yet seem to allude to some violent and præternatural commotions which happened at this season. Whatever may have been the nature of the catastrophe, it appears to have been confined solely to the region of Babylonia.

Upon the dispersion, the country about Babel was entirely evacuated. A very large body of the fugitives betook themselves to Egypt, and are commemorated under the name of the Shepherds. Some of them went no farther than [81] Shinar; a city, which lay between Nineve and Babylon, to the north of the region which they had quitted. Others came into Syria and Canaan, and into the Arabian provinces, which bordered upon these countries. Those who fled to Shinar resided there some time: but being in the vicinity of Elam and Nineve, they raised the jealousy of the sons of Ashur, and the Elamites, who made a confederacy against them, and after a dispute of some time drove them from their neighbourhood. And not contented with this, they carried their arms still farther, and

[81] It gave name to the whole region, of which Babylonia was only a part.

invaded all those of the line of Ham westward, as far as the confines of Egypt. This was the first part of the great Titanic war, in which the king of Elam was principal. We are informed by Moses, that they served him twelve years; and in the thirteenth they rebelled: and in the fourteenth year the king of Elam attacked them, in conjunction with the kings of Aram, Ashur, and Shinar: for Shinar was now regained, and in the hands of the Shemites.

This invasion happened, when Abraham had resided some time in Canaan; in which he first sojourned, when he was seventy-five years old. It happened also after his return from Egypt; but was antecedent to the birth of Ishmael, who was born in the eighty-sixth year of Abraham's life. We may therefore venture to refer this event to the eightieth year of the Patriarch's age. And as the first war is said by the Gentile writers to have lasted ten or [82] eleven years; if we add these to the fourteen mentioned by Moses, which intervened between that war, and the invasion made by the confederates, it will be found to amount to

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[82] Συνιχεως δ' εμαχοντο δεκα φλειως ενιαυτους. Hesiod. Theog. v. 636.

Μαχομενων δε αυτων ενιαυτους δεκα ἡ Γη ἐχρησε τῳ Δι δ' την νικην. Apollod. l. 1. p. 4.

twenty-four years. And these being deducted from the eightieth year of Abraham, will give us the fifty-sixth of his life, and the first year of the Titanian war. At this time, or near it, I should imagine that it commenced. I have supposed, that the Cuthite Shepherds came into Egypt immediately upon the dispersion: and it is very plain from Manethon, that their coming was five hundred and eleven years before the Exodus. The call of [83] Abraham was only four hundred and thirty, and his birth five hundred and five, years before that æra: therefore the dispersion must have been about six years prior to his birth. According to this computation, the first Titanian war was about sixty-two years after the dispersion. [84] Abydenus, [85] Cedrenus, and other writers, who take notice of the dispersion, mention this war as the next great event.

As the Cuthite Shepherds were in possession of Egypt at the time of this war; it may seem extraordinary, that they did not take a share in it, and assist those of their family who were invaded. There is an obscure tradition of their being so-

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[83] Abraham was seventy-five years old, when he left Haran; and eighty-six at the birth of Ishmael.

[84] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 15. Syncellus. p. 44.

[85] P. 29. Γινεται δε και ὁ Τιτανων προς τον Δια πολεμος.

licited to interfere: but as they were not themselves attacked, nor injured, they did not listen to the proposals. This is intimated in a history given of Oceanus, who was one of the [36] Titans. It is also a name of the Nile, which was called both [37] Oceanus, and Ægyptus: and in this account, that country and its inhabitants are alluded to.

The history is, that [38] when the Titans entered into a conspiracy against their father, Oceanus withstood the solicitations, which were made to him: though he was some time in doubt, whether he should not take a part in the commotion. Proclus, who gives this account, has preserved some Orphic fragments to this purpose. The same is to be found in Apollodorus; who mentions the Titans engaging in war, and says, that Oceanus would not join them. [39] Οι δε χωρις Ωκεανυ επιτιθενται. By Oceanus is meant in the language

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[36] Diodorus. l. 3. p. 195.

[37] Νειλος Ωκεανος. Νειλος Αιγυπτος. Ibid. p. 17.

[38] Των αλλων Τιτανων εις την κατα τυ πατρος επιβυλην ἱεμενων, ὁ Ωκεανος απαγορευει τε προς τας της Μητρος επιταξεις, και ενδοιαζει περι της ταξεως.

Ενθ' υν Ωκεανος μεν ενι μεγαροισιν εμιμνεν,
Ὁρμαινων, προτερωσε νοον τραποι, κτλ.
Πολλα δε πορφυρων μενεν ἡμερος εν μεγαροισιν.

Proclus in Timæum Platonis. 4. p. 296.

[39] L. 1. p. 2.

of mythology the Oceanitæ and Nilotæ, the inhabitants of Egypt.

I imagine, that the Canaanites had been in the same original rebellion in Babylonia, as the sons of Chus; and that they were a part of the dispersion. It is therefore probable, that they came into Canaan about the same time that the others betook themselves to Egypt. This is certain, that when Abraham traversed the country, it is repeatedly said, that [90] *the Canaanite was then in the land:* from whence we may infer, that they were but lately come. And the sacred writer, speaking of Hebron, a seat of the Anakim, or Titans, says, that it *was built seven years before* [91] *Zoan in Egypt.* By this we may infer, that the two nations in some degree corresponded in their operations, and began building about the same time. All the while, that the Patriarch sojourned in this country, we find it so thinly peopled, that he could pass where he listed, and pitch his tent

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[90] Genesis. c. 12. v. 6. c. 13. v. 7.

[91] Numbers. c. 13. v. 22. Some have thought, that Zoan was Tanis, towards the bottom of Lower Egypt, and it is so rendered in the Vulgate. But this part of the country, called afterwards Delta, was not formed, when Hebron was built. The lower region of Delta increased gradually, and was the work of time. Zoan was Heliopolis, one of the first cities built by the Shepherds, and towards the apex of Delta.

where he pleased: and yet he travelled with a large retinue, and with flocks and herds in abundance. All this seems to indicate a recent population. Syria, and the coast from Libanus upwards, had been peopled by a different family before: and it is probable, that those of the confederacy, who settled there, had some battles with the natives. Eusebius accordingly mentions, *that in early times the Chaldeans*, by whom are meant the Babylonians, *made war upon the people of Phenicia.* [92] Χαλδαιοι κατα Φοινικων εστρατευσαν. But the land, which the Canaanite invaded, was in great measure vacant, and had been set apart for another people; for the distribution of the whole earth was by divine appointment: and the land of Canaan was particularly allotted to the sons of Israel. They accordingly have this strongly inculcated to them, that in the division of countries, [93] *the Lord's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.* The son of Sirach also informs us to the same purpose; that [94] *in the division of the nations of the whole earth, He* (the Lord) *set a ruler over every people; but Israel is the Lord's portion.* In conformity to this, the Psalmist introduces the

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[92] Euseb. Chron. p. 28. Syncellus. p. 153.

[93] Deuteron. c. 32. v. 9.

[94] C. 17. v. 17.

Deity as telling Abraham, [95] *Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, the lot*, or line, *of your inheritance*; which circumstance had been before recorded by [96] Moses. And yet even to him and to his posterity, it was rather a loan than a gift: for the Deity seems always to have peculiarly reserved the property of this country to himself. The Israelite therefore had never a full command of it; he only held it at will, and was subject to God as proprietor. In short it was ever *the Lord's portion*. The people therefore are told, when a permission is given to them in some degree to part with their inheritance, [97] *The land shall not be sold for* EVER: *for the land is mine: and ye are strangers and sojourners with me*, saith the Lord. Indeed the whole earth may justly be called the Lord's, but this was his particular portion. It was however invaded, as were other places, in opposition to the divine appointment. Eusebius, in conformity to this tells us, that Noah explained to his sons the will of the Deity; and allotted to each their particular place of retreat, [98] κατα θειον δηλουοτι χρησμον, *having received his instructions from Heaven*. But the sons

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[95] Psalm. 105. v. 11.

[96] Genesis. c. 13. v. 15. c. 15. v. 18.

[97] Numbers. c. 25. v. 23.

[98] Chron. p. 10.

of Chus first usurped the region allotted to Ashur; and afterwards transgressed still farther upon the property of their neighbours. Of all others the transgression of Canaan was the most heinous; for he knowingly invaded God's peculiar [99] portion; and seized it to himself. The trespasses of the sons of Ham brought on the dispersion; and afterwards the war of the confederates, as Syncellus justly observes. [100] Οι υιοι τε Σημ επολεμησαν προς τους υιους Χαμ περι των ὁριων της Παλαιστινης. *The sons of Shem made war upon the sons of Ham about the boundaries of Palæstina.* Eusebius mentions the particular trangession of the Canaanite. [1] Νεωτερισας ὁ τε Χαμ υιος Χανααν επεβη τοις ὁριοις τε Σημ, και κατωκησεν εκει, παραβας την εντολην Νωε. *Canaan, the son of Ham, was guilty of innovation, and trespassed upon the allotment of Shem; and took up his habitation therein, contrary to the commandment of Noah.* Besides the kings in the Asphaltite vale,

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[99] Τουτων δε των κληροδοτηθεντων ὁ τε Χαμ υιος Χανααν, ιδων την προς τῳ Λιβανῳ γην, ὡς αγαθη τε και ευφορος—τυραννικως καθηρπασεν αυτην, και τους εκ τε Σημ κληρους εξηλασε, και ὑτω πασα ἡ γη της επαγγελιας τε Χανααν προσηγορευται. Auctor Anon. Johan. Malalæ præfixus. p. 16.

[100] P. 90.

[1] Euseb. Chron. p. 10. Eusebius lived in the country, of which he speaks: and had opportunities of obtaining many curious histories from the original inhabitants. See also Epiphanius advers. Hæres. l. 1. c. 5.

the nations attacked in this war were the [2] Rephaïms, or Giants, in Ashteroth Karnaïm; and the Zuzims, and Emims, who were equally of the Titanic race: also the Amorites and Amalekites, and the Horim in Mount Seir. All these were upon forbidden ground; and were therefore invaded.

Such is the history of the Titanic war, and of the dispersion which preceded. Sanchoniathon speaking of the people, who were thus dissipated, and of the great works which they performed, concludes with this short, but remarkable character of them, [3] Ουτοι δε και Αληται, και Τιτανες καλεινται.

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[2] Genesis. c. 14. v. 5. Τους Γιγαντας τους εν Ασταρωθ. So rendered by the Seventy. See Deuteron. c. 2. v. 10. 11. also v. 21. 22.

[3] Sanchoniathon apud Euseb. Præp. l. 1. p. 35.

So Pelasgus, αλητης. Cadmus αλητης.

Terah, and Nahor, and all the sons of Heber had separated themselves from the stock of their fathers, and dwelt in a forbidden land. Here they served other Gods. But the faith of Abraham was at last awakened: to which perhaps nothing contributed more than the demolition of the tower of Babel, and the dispersion of the sons of Chus: and lastly, the wonderful and tremendous interposition of the Deity in producing these effects. This event not only inspired them with an inclination to get away, but also afforded them an opening for a retreat.

It is, I think, plain, that even the Chaldeans were not included in the people dispersed; as we find such a nation in the days of Abraham; and not only in his time, but in the days of his father and grandfather. Both Tera and Nahor dwelled in the land of

These are the people, who are described as exiles and wanderers, and at the same time are called the Titans. This event seems to have been very happy in its consequences to those of the family of the Patriarch Abraham: as it must have facilitated their conversion; and given them an opening to retreat. They lived in the land of Ur of the Chaldees: which lay upon the Tigris, to the south of Babel and Babylonia. There was no passage for them to get away, but through the above country; which was then possessed by a people, who would not have suffered their desertion. Nor would they have thought of migrating, so long as they followed the religion of their fathers. But when Terah and his family had seen the tower shaken to its foundations, and the land made a desert, it was natural for them to obey the first call of Heaven; and to depart through the opening, which Providence had made. They therefore acceded to the advice of Abraham; and followed him to Haran in Mesopotamia, in his way to Canaan. The rout which the Patriarch took, was the true way to the country, whither he was going: a circumstance which has been little considered.

Ur of the Chusdim: which could not have happened, if those Chusdim, or Cuthites, had been scattered abroad.

After the Cuthite Shepherds had been in possession of Egypt about two hundred and sixty, or eighty years, they were obliged to retire. They had been defeated by Halisphragmuthosis; and were at last besieged in the district of [4] Avaris, which they had previously fortified, by [5] Amosis, the son of the former king. Wearied out by the length and straitness of the siege, they at last came to terms of composition; and agreed to leave the country, if they might do it unmolested. They were permitted to depart; and accordingly retired to the amount of two hundred and forty thousand persons. Amosis upon this destroyed their fortifications, and laid their city in ruins. Manethon, who has mixed their history with that of the Israelites, supposes, that they settled at Jerusalem, and in the region round about. This has led Josephus to think, that the first Shepherds were his ancestors: whereas their history is plainly alluded to in that part, which is styled the return of the Shepherds: where Osarsiph is mentioned as their ruler; and Moses, as their conductor upon their retreat. Most of the fathers, who treat of this subject, have given into this mistake: and as the Cuthites were expelled by Amosis, they have

[4] Josephus contra Ap. l. 1. p. 446.

[5] By some he is called Thummosis.

supposed, that the Israelites departed in the reign of that king. This was the [6] opinion of Tatianus, Clemens, Syncellus, and many others; but it is certainly a mistake: for it was not till the time of [7] Amenophis, successor to this [8] prince, that they entered the country, which they did not quit till after two centuries. And however Manethon may have confounded the history, yet it is apparent from what he says, even as the Fathers quote him, For he tells us, that Amosis destroyed the seat of the former people; and Amenophis gave it to the [9] latter; so that the history thus far is certainly very [10] plain. As they were

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[6] Κατα Αμωσιν Αιγυπτυ βασιλεα γεγονεναι Ιυδαιοις την εξ Αιγυπτου φοξιαν. Euseb. Præp. l. 10. p. 498. See Tatianus. p. 273. Clemens. Strom. l. 1. p. 379. Justin. Martyr. Cohort. p. 13. He calls the king, Amasis. They have certainly made some alterations in the 18th dynasty, to make it accord to their notions.

[7] He gave them the place called Avaris, which his grandfather had laid waste. Joseph. cont. Ap. l. 1. p. 460.

[8] The list of the kings of this æra, as they give them, proves this,

Αμωσις, ὁ και Τεθμωσις
Χεβρων
Αμενωφις.

See Syncellus, Eusebius, &c.

[9] Josephus cont. Ap. l. 1. p. 460, 461.

[10] Eusebius, whose evidence Syncellus without reason rejects, places the exit of the latter Shepherds in the reign of another king, whom he calls Cencheres. Chron. p. 16. Syncellus. p. 72.

each a very large body of people, and their history of great consequence in the annals of Egypt, their departure must have been faithfully recorded. But length of time has impaired the memorials, so that the history is of a mixed nature, and it is not easy to arrive at precision. And as many events were prior to the reigns of any of their kings, they generally refer those to the times of their Gods. Eusebius gives us a curious account of an event in the time of Apis; [11] *when a large body of men deserted Egypt, and took up their abode in Palæstina, upon the confines of Arabia.* The Israelites may possibly be here alluded to; but I should rather think, that the history relates to the Caphtorim, who seem to have resided between Mount Casius and Pelusium; but retired to Palæstina Propria, which was immediately upon the borders of Arabia. There are, however, other histories more precise, which manifestly allude to the departure of the Shepherds from Egypt; and point out the places to which they retired. There was a tradition of Casus and Belus leading one colony to [12] Syria, which settled upon the Orontes. By Casus and

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[11] Επι Απιδος τε Φορωνικως μοιρα τε Αιγυπτιων γενος εξεπεσεν Αιγυπτε, οι εν τη Παλαιστινη καλεμενη Συρια ου πορρω Αραβιας εθεντο. Euseb. Chron. p. 26.

[12] Eusebii Chron. p. 24. See Zonaras. p. 21.

Belus are undoubtedly meant the Cuthites and Beleidæ of Babylonia, who fled from Egypt, and are said by Manethon to have retired to those parts. Some are said to have gone to [13] Jerusalem; which history needs no explanation. Eusebius mentions, that [14] Cadmus and Phœnix resided in Egypt: but afterwards passed over to the region about Tyre and Sidon, and were for a time kings of that country. The most plain and satisfactory account is that which I have more than once mentioned from Diodorus. He tells us, that there were formerly in Egypt many [15] foreigners, whom the Egyptians expelled their country. One part of them went under the conduct of Danaus and Cadmus to Greece; and the others retired into the province called in aftertimes Judea. But it was not only to Syria, and to Greece, that people of this family betook themselves. I have [16] shewn, that they were to be found in various parts, widely separated, as far as India and the Ganges in the east, and Mauritania westward. Diodorus mentions Am-

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[13] Joseph. cont. Apion. l. 1. p. 460.

[14] Chron. p. 27.

[15] L. 40. apud Photium. p. 1151.

[16] See vol. iii. of this work, and the treatise inscribed Cadmus; which is intimately connected with the whole of the present subject.

mon, by which is meant the Ammonians, reigning in a part of [17] Libya: and speaks likewise of the Titans of [18] Mauritania, whom he styles the sons of Heaven. The Grecians supposed, that they were conducted to this region by Καδμος αλητης, *Cadmus the great rover:* and Nonnus mentions:

[19] Αγχινεφη ναιοντας αλημονος ασεα Καδμου.

People, who dwelt amid the Atlantian cliffs,
In cities founded by the wandering chief.

They came also with the Curetes into Crete; and settled particularly about Cnossus, where they were of the greatest benefit to the natives; and improved them in architecture, and in various other arts. Diodorus speaks of the temple of Rhea in these parts, which was built by the Titans, the sons of Heaven, whose foundations were shewn in his days: and near it was a venerable grove of cypress, planted in early times. He mentions the names of many of the Titans;

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[17] Αμμωνα βασιλευοντα μερους της Λιβυης. Diodor. l. 3. p. 201.
[18] L. 3. p. 190.
[19] Dionus. l. 13. p. 370.

and says, that there was not one, [20] who had not been the author of some useful art to mankind.

The calamities, which this people experienced, were so severe, and accumulated, that they were held in remembrance for ages. The memorials of them made a principal part in their sacred [21] rites; and they preserved them also in their hymns. These were generally in a melancholy style; and their music was adapted to them. The chief subject was the history of the Titanic age, the sufferings of their Gods; and, above all, the flight of Bacchus, and the scattering of his limbs over the plain of Nusa. To these were added the wanderings of Isis, or Damater, who went over the world to pick up the limbs of the same Bacchus, under the character of Osiris. The Egyptians succeeded to the Cuthites in their cities and temples; and had been too early initiated in their rites ever to forsake them. They had the like hymns; and commemorated the same events: for they were a branch of the same family. Hence they recorded the labours of the Titans, and all the calamities and wanderings to which their Deities had been exposed. The Gre-

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[20] L. 5. p. 334. ων ἑκαστοντινων ἑυρετην γενεσθαι τοις ανθρωποις.

[21] See Orph. Argonautica. v. 26. 31. &c.

Philostratus, Vita Apollon. l. 3. c. 6.

cians did the like: their rites and mysteries related to the same events. Linus, Orpheus, Pronapides, Thymœtes, are supposed to have written upon this [22] subject; some in Pelasgic, and others in Phrygian characters. The ground-work of their history is comprised by Plutarch in a small compass, [23] Γιγαντικα, και Τιτανικα,—φθογγοι τε Διονυσε, και πλᾶναι Δημητρος: *The labours of the Giants and Titans—the cries of Bacchus, and the wanderings of Damater.*

Such is the history of the Cuthites, who came from Babylonia, and conquered Egypt. This people were no other than the Σκυθαι, Scuthæ, or Scythians, as I have shewn. It is therefore no wonder that the nation so denominated should be esteemed the most antient of any upon earth. [24] Scytharum gens antiquissima semper habita.—Ægyptiis antiquiores semper visi Scythæ. *The Scythic nation was at all times esteemed the most antient.—The Scythæ were always looked upon as more antient than the Ægyptians.* All this in its

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[22] Diodorus. l. 3. p. 201.

[23] Plutarch. Is. et Osir. p. 360.

Μελαμποδα δε φασι μετενεγκειν εξ Αιγυπτε τα Διονυσω νομιζομενα τελεισθαι παρα τοις Ἑλλησι, και τα περι Κρονε μυθολογουμενα, και τα περι της Τιτανομαχιας, και το συνολον την περι τα παθη των Θεων ἱστοριαν. Diodor. l. 1. p. 87.

[24] Justin. l. 2. c. 1.

proper acceptation is true; for the Cuthites were the first upon the earth who were constituted into a large kingdom, and reduced under a regular government; while other nations consisted of little independent towns and villages. And as they paid the highest reverence to the memory of their ancestors, they preserved evidences for their own antiquity, of which other nations were bereaved; so that they maintained this prerogative for ages.

CONCERNING

UR OF THE CHALDEES;

AND OF

THE REGION,

FROM WHENCE IT WAS THUS DISTINGUISHED.

BEFORE I proceed, it may not be improper to obviate an objection, which may be made to the place and region where I have supposed Abraham to have been first conversant; as there are writers who have imagined Ur, of Chaldea, to have been in another part of the world. The region in question is, by Strabo, plainly defined as a province of Babylonia: and Arrian, Ptolemy, Dionysius, Pliny, and Marcellinus, all determine its situation so clearly, that I should have thought no doubt could have arisen. It appears, however, that Bochart, Grotius, Le Clerc, Cellarius, with some others, are dissatisfied with the common opinion, and cannot be persuaded that Abraham came from this

country. Bochart accordingly tells us, that the Ur of the Scriptures was near Nisibis, in the upper regions of Assyria, and bordered upon Armenia. [1] Ur Chaldæorum, ubi Abrahæ majores habitârunt, Gen. 11. 28. non procul erat a Corduenâ, in quâ substiterat arca Noæ. Res patet ex Ammiani l. 5. Ibi enim Romani transmisso Tigri ad locum a Corduenâ centesimo lapide disparatum, viâ sex dierum emensâ, ad *Ur nomine Persicum venere castellum*; unde profectis primo Thisalphata, deinde Nisibin iter fuit. Itaque Ur circa Nisibin. This is surely too lightly determined. All that we learn from Marcellinus is, that they passed by a castle called Ur: not a word is there mentioned about a region called Chaldea; nor of a people styled Chaldeans, which was necessary to be found. Yet the learned writer says, res patet, *we may be assured*, that here was the birth of the Patriarch; and the original place of his residence was near Nisibis. In another part of his work he mentions a place called Ur, near Syria, upon the Euphrates, of which notice is taken by [2] Pliny; and he seems to think it not

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[1] Geogr. Sac. p. 38.

[2] Ita fertur (Euphrates) usque Uram locum, in quo conversus ad orientem relinquit Syriæ Palmyrenas solitudines. Plin. l. 5. c. 24.

improbable, that here might have been the first abode of [3] Abraham. From hence we may perceive, that he was not very determinate in his opinion. Edessa is said to have been called Ur, and Urhoë; on which account some have been induced to place the birth and residence of the Patriarch here. But who ever heard of Chaldeans in these parts, or of a region named Chaldea?

If there be any thing certain in geography, we may be assured, from a number of the best writers, that the country, of which we are treating, was in a different part of the world. Chaldea lay to the south of Babylonia, and was originally bounded to the east and west by the Tigris and Euphrates; so that it was an interamnian region. Hence Joshua tells the children of Israel, in speaking of the first residence of their ancestors, that their [4] *fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood,* or river, *in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham.* And St. Stephen, speaking of the call of this Patriarch, says, [5] *The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when*

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[3] Sic Ur Chaldæorum erit Ura, de quâ Plinius. l. 5. c. 24.—quod siquis malit sequi, non vehementer repugnabo. Geogr. Sac. p. 78.

[4] C. 24. v. 2.

[5] Acts. c. 7. v. 2.

he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran. The land of Chaldea was in those times a portion of the great region called Mesopotamia; and, as I before said, it was bounded to the west by the Euphrates, which in its latter course ran nearly parallel with the Tigris, and emptied itself into the sea below. But as this river was apt, every year, about the summer solstice, to overflow the low lands of [6] Chaldea, the natives diverted its course, and carried it, with many windings, through a new channel into the Tigris; which junction was made about ninety miles below Seleucia. There were in reality three [7] streams into which the Euphrates was divided. One of these was the Nahar-Sares, called also the Marsyas. There was another called the Nahar-Malcha, or Royal River, which was made by [8] Nebuchadnezzar, and passed into the Tigris near the city above-mentioned. The third may be considered as the original river which ran through Babylon, but was soon after diverted into a new channel, and joined the Tigris about ninety miles below the Nahar-Malcha and Seleucia. [9] Perfluunt easdem

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[6] Strabo. l. 16. p. 1075.

[7] Plin. l. 6. c. 26.

[8] Abydenus apud Euseb. P. E. l. 9. p. 457.

[9] Ammian. Marcellinus. l. 23. p. 287. Marses is a mistake for Narses; and that an abridgment for Naar-Sares.

terras et Marses, et flumen Regium, et Euphrates, cunctis excellens, qui tripartitus navigabilis per omnes est rivos; insulasque circumfluens, et arva cultorum industria diligenter rigans, vomeri, et gignendis arbustis, habilia facit. There were at the same time many smaller streams, formed by the natives from the Euphrates, both to moisten their grounds, and to take off the exuberance of its waters. These secondary rivulets are often alluded to by the sacred writers: and in the Psalms they are spoken of under the general name of the [10] *waters of Babylon*. For Babylonia abounded with streams and pools, and was watered beyond any country in the world, except Egypt, which, in many respects, it greatly resembled. Those who performed the great work of all, which consisted in turning the river itself, were the people of Ur, called by [11] Ptolemy and Pliny Orcheni. [12] Euphraten præclusere Orcheni, et accolæ, ripas rigantes; nec nisi Pasitigri defertur ad mare. Before this it ran down to the sea, and emptied itself into the Persic Gulf, near Teredon, about twenty-seven miles below the mouth of the [13] Tigris. By these means the old

[10] Psalm. 137. v. 1.
[11] L. 5. c. 19.
[12] L. 6. c. 27.
[13] Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

channel became dry; and the region was now bounded to the west by the desert of Arabia, as Strabo and other [14] writers observe. In this province was the Ur of the Scriptures, called Ur of the Chaldeans; which was so styled in order to distinguish it from every other place of the same name. It was also expressed Our, Ourhoë, Ourchoë; and the people were called Ourchani. It was sometimes compounded Camour, and rendered Camurine; and it is thus mentioned by Eupolemus. The description of Chaldea given by Strabo is very precise. He speaks much in favour of the natives; and says, that they inhabited a portion of [15] Babylonia, which bordered upon Arabia and the Persic Sea. He describes them as being devoted to philosophy; especially the Borsippeni and the Orcheni. These last we may suppose to have been particularly the inhabitants of the city, concerning which we are treating. For here, in the true land of Chaldea, we must look for Ur of the Chaldees. We accordingly find, that there was such a place, called Ουρχοη, Urchoë, by Ptolemy; by Josephus, Ura, or Ure: [16] Ουρη των Χαλδαιων. By Eusebius it is rendered

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[14] Παρακειται τη ερημῳ Αραβιᾳ ἡ Χαλδαια χωρα. Ptolemy. l. 5. c. 20.

[15] L. 16. p. 1074.

[16] Josephus says of Haran, the son of Terah, ιν Χαλδαιοις

Ur; and it was undoubtedly the capital city of the province. [17] Ουρ πολις της βασιλειας των Χαλδαιων. Add to this the account given by Eupolemus, who points out plainly the place of the Patriarch's birth and abode. [18] *He was born*, says this historian, *in the city Camarina of Babylonia, which some call Uria. By this is denoted a city of the Chaldeans.*

As the history is so plain, why do we go so wide of the mark as to suppose this city to have been upon the confines of Syria? or, what is more extraordinary, to make it, as some do, an Assyrian city: and to place it high in the north, at the foot of Mount Taurus, upon the borders of Media and Armenia; where the name of Chaldeans is not to be found? Yet to these parts does Grotius, as well as Bochart, refer it; and mentioning Ur of the Chaldees, he adds, [19] *the name remained to the time of Marcellinus.* But this learned man is surely wrong in determining

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αποθανειν, εν πολει Ουρη λεγομενη των Χαλδαιων. *He died among the Chaldeans, in the city called Ur of the Chaldeans.* Ant. l. 1. c. 7.

[17] Eusebius in locis Hebraicis, sive sacris.

[18] Εν πολει της Βαβυλωνιας Καμαρινη, ην τινες λεγουσιν Ουριην· τουτ' δε μεθερμηνευομενον Χαλδαιων πολιν—γινεσθαι Αβρααμ. Euseb. Præp. l. 9. c. 17. p. 418.

[19] Grotius in Genesin. c. 11. v. 31. Ur Chaldæorum: mansit loco nomen, &c.

so hastily, and with such a latitude; for there was no Ur of the Chaldees, nor any Chaldea in these parts. Lucian was born at Samosata; and Marcellinus was thoroughly acquainted with this country. Yet neither from them, nor from Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, Solinus, nor from any writer, is there the least hint of any Chaldeans being here. The place mentioned above was an obscure castle, of little [20] consequence, as we may infer, from its never having been taken notice of by any other writer. Grotius says, mansit loco nomen: from whence one might be led to imagine, that it had existed in the days of Abraham. But there is not the least reason to suppose any such thing. It is indeed idle to form any conjecture about the antiquity of a place which occurs but once in history, and which is never mentioned before the fourth century.

Why then have men of such extensive learning so industriously deviated from the truth; and gone contrary to the common interpretation? The reason given is this. We are told by these writers, that [21] *Abraham was ordered to leave his father's house, and to betake himself to the land of Canaan.*

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[20] The whole history of the place is comprised in four words: Ur nomine Persicum castellum. Marcellinus. l. 25. p. 336.

[21] Genesis. c. 12. v. 1.

Now to go from Babylonia to Canaan by Haran, as it is said that Abraham did, is not the direct road: for Haran lies out of the way. But from the Ur of Marcellinus, or from the city Edessa, [22] *Haran lies in the very rout; and the course is very direct.* But why must all historical certainty be set aside for the sake of a more plausible and compendious way of proceeding? We frame to ourselves, at this distance of time, notions about expediency and convenience; which arise merely from our inexperience, and from those unnecessary doubts, which are formed through ignorance. Where is it mentioned in the Scriptures, that the Patriarch was restrained to the direct road? After he had left Ur of the Chaldees, he went with his father to Haran, and dwelt there. Some make the term of his residence to have been a year: others imagine it to have been a great deal more. If he did not proceed directly in regard to time, why must he be supposed to have been limited in respect to place? What matters it, by which rout he went to Canaan, if the call was not so cogent, but that he had permission to stay by the way?

There is another question to be asked. As the rout supposed to be taken from Babylonia and

[22] In Judæam via recta est par Carrhas. Bochart supra. p. 78.

the south towards Haran is objected to, I should be glad to know which way the Patriarch should have directed his steps. It is answered, *that he ought to have gone to Canaan directly* [21] *westward, through Arabia: which would have been nearly in a straight line, if he had gone from the lower regions of Babylonia: but as he proceeded in a circuit, that could not be the place of his departure.* Now from the best accounts, we may be assured, that the rout, which we suppose him to have taken, was the true, and only way: there was no other, by which people could proceed. And we take off greatly from the purport and precision of the holy Scriptures, by thus arbitrarily changing the scene of action, because it does not accord with our prejudices. And these prejudices arise from our being accustomed to scanty maps; and not looking into the natural histories of the countries, about which we are concerned. The very best accounts prove, that this was the rout ever taken by people, who went from Babylonia and its provinces, to Palæstina and Egypt: for the direct way, as Grotius terms it, and which Bochart recommends, could not be

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[21] Via esset (e Babyloniâ) multo compendiosior per Arabiæ deserta. Ibid.

pursued. From Babylonia and Chaldea westward was a [24] desert of great extent; which reached to Canaan, and still farther to the Nile. Nor is there, I believe, upon record above one instance of its having ever been [25] traversed. All armies, and all caravans of merchants, were obliged to go to the north of the Euphrates, when they came from Babylonia to Egypt; or the reverse, when they went from Egypt to Babylonia. Herodotus, when he is speaking of the march of Cambyses to Egypt, says, that the only way into that country was downward from the Euphrates, by Syrophenicia, and Palæstine. [26] Μουνη δε ταυτη εισι φανεραι εισβολαι ες Αιγυπτον. *There is no other apparent passage into Egypt but this.* And the reason is plain: for the Arabian desert rendered it impracticable to proceed in a strait line. People were obliged to go round by Carchemish upon the Euphrates: and the kings of Babylonia and Egypt fortified that place alternately, to secure the pas-

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[24] Μετα δε τας συμβολας Ευφρατα τε και Τιγριδος κατισιν η Βαβυλωνια μεχρι θαλασσης, αντικρυ εχουσα την Ερημον. Agathemer. apud Geog. Vet. vol. 2. p. 43.

[25] It is said by Berosus, that Nebuchadnezzar, hearing of his father's death, made his way in great haste over this desert. Apud Josephum contra Ap. l. 1. c. 9. p. 450.

[26] Herodotus. l. 3. c. 5.

sage of the river. When Pharaoh Necho, and the king of Babylon wanted to meet in battle, they were obliged to come this way to the [27] encounter. The army of Cambyses, and all the armies of the Greeks and Romans; those who served under Cyrus the younger; the army of Alexander, Antiochus, Antonius, Trajan, Gordian, Julian, went to the north by the Euphrates. Some of these princes set out from Egypt, yet were obliged to take this circuit. It is remarkable, that Crassus, in his rout towards Babylonia went by [28] Charræ, or Haran: which was the very spot, where Abraham, in his way from Chaldea to Canaan, resided. At this place, the Roman general was met by Surena and slain. Alexander the Great went nearly in the same track: for though this was round about, yet it was by many esteemed the best road to Babylonia. The emperor Julian also took his rout by Haran; but from thence went the lower way by Cercusium and the Euphrates. For there were two roads through Mesopotamia to Babylon,

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[27] *The army of Pharaoh Necho—which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, smote.* Jeremiah. c. 46. v. 2. See 2 Kings. c. 23. v. 29. 2 Chron. c. 35. v. 20.

[28] Charræ is called Harran by the Nubian geographer. p. 198. and by Nassir Ettusæus. Geog. Vet. v. 3. p. 94.

and Persia; and they both commenced at [29] Charræ or Haran. All these circumstances afford great light to the Mosaïc history, and abundantly witness its truth and precision, even in the most minute particulars. It is therefore a great pity, that men of learning are not sufficiently considerate in their determinations. We from this instance see, that they would set aside a plain and accepted interpretation, on account of a seeming difficulty to the prejudice of Scripture: which interpretation, upon inquiry, affords a wonderful evidence in its favour: for it appears, upon the strictest examination, that things must have happened, as they are represented.

The inhabitants of Chaldea were Cuthites, of the same family, as those by whom Babylon was founded. They are in the Scriptures uniformly called Chasdim, or Chusdim. This, I may be told, is contrary to the usual mode of composition: for if they were the sons of Chus, they should regularly have been rendered Chusim. How then came they to be called Chusdim, contrary to all rule and analogy? To this I can say little. I can give no reason, why Chus was called Cuth; and the land of Cushan, Cutha: much less can I

[29] Marcellinus. l. 23. p. 273. Carras, antiquum oppidum; unde duæ ducentes Persidem viæ regiæ distinguuntur.

account for its being still further diversified, and rendered Scutha, and Scuthia. It is equally difficult to say, why these very Chasdim of the Scriptures are by the Ethnic writers continually styled Chaldæi; which is still a greater variation. All I know is, that the same names, at different periods, will be differently expressed: and scarce any terms are exhibited by those, who are foreign to a country, as they are pronounced by the natives. But we are not to go by sound and similarity; nor does the history of a family depend merely upon their [30] name. Had the people, of whom we are treating, been in any degree natives of Assyria, we should certainly find some traces of them in the Assyrian history. But we hear nothing of them till the reign of Salmanasser, or Asuraddon; who, when they transplanted conquered nations, and had removed Israel from Samaria, brought men of [31] Babylon and Cutha in their room. From hence we may judge, that the Cuthites and Babylonians, among whom the Chaldeans are included,

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[30] There was a Chaldea upon the Pontus Euxinus, to the east of Sinope, in the country of the Chalybes: but nobody will suppose that Abraham came from hence.

[31] 2 Kings. c. 17. v. 24. of Assur-Adon. See Ezra. c. 4. v. 2.

were in the same interest, and had been in confederacy against the Assyrians; consequently they were not of their family. In a little time, the Babylonians shook off the Assyrian yoke, and in their turn formed a great empire: and then we have continual accounts of the Chaldeans. They were in a manner the same as the Babylonians, who were indisputably the sons of Chus: and the two names are used by writers indifferently, as being nearly synonymous. Hence when the army of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, surrounded Jerusalem, it is called *the army of the Chaldees.* [32]*The Chaldees were against the city round about:* [33]*And the army of the Chaldees—brake down the walls.* Isaiah speaks of Babylon, as [34]*the beauty of the Chaldees excellence.* And when Darius the Mede obtained the throne of Babylon, he is said to have been [35]*made king over the realm of the Chaldees.* Even Nebuchadnezzar abovementioned is distinguished by the title of [36]*Nebuchadnezzar,*

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[32] 2 Kings. c. 25. v. 4. In like manner it is said, that *the army of the Chaldeans pursued after the king, and overtook Zedekiah.* Jeremiah. c. 52. v. 8.

[33] 2 Kings. c. 25. v. 10.

[34] Isaiah. c. 13. v. 19.

[35] Daniel. c. 9. v. 1.

[36] Ezra. c. 5. v. 12.

the king of Babylon, the Chaldean. The reason of all this, I think, is plain. It has been mentioned, that, when Babel was ruined, it lay unoccupied for ages: and the region of Babylonia seems to have been but thinly inhabited. The city was at last rebuilt: and when it was taken in hand, the work was carried on by the Chaldeans, under the inspection of Merodach Baladan, but chiefly of his son Nebuchadnezzar. He is expressly said to have [37] built it, and to have been a Chaldean. Hence Babylon is very truly represented, as *the beauty of the Chaldeans excellence:* for that people raised its towers, and gave it an extent and magnificence superior to Erech, Ur, Borsippa, and every city of the nation. Indeed, if we may judge from the accounts transmitted, there was not a city in the world that could equal it in [38] grandeur and beauty. For this reason, the Chaldeans and Babylonians are spoken of as the same people; for they were originally the same family: and when they came to reside in the same province, there could be no difference between them. There were, however, some tribes which seem to the last to have been

[37] Daniel. c. 4. v. 30.

[38] *Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldeans excellence.* Isaiah above.

distinguished, and called, by way of eminence, Chaldeans. Such were those of Borsippa and Ur, so celebrated for philosophy and divination; out of whom came the Magi, Aruspices, and Soothsayers. Those of Ur were particularly styled Urchani, which may either signify *Lords of Ur*, or *Priests of Fire*. Strabo speaks much of the Chaldeans, and of their great wisdom: and says, that from them, and from the Egyptians, the learning of Greece was derived. Such is the history of this city of the Chaldees, and of the country wherein it was situated.

OF

EGYPT,

AND

ITS FIRST INHABITANTS;

AND OF ITS

KINGS AND DYNASTIES.

THE land of Egypt consisted of a narrow region, which reached from Syene downwards to the upper point of Delta, following the course of the Nile. It was above five hundred miles in length, and on each side bounded by mountains, which terminated exactly where the region ended. At this point the Nile divided, and the country below for a great while was a morass: but when it came to have canals made, and to be properly drained, it turned out the richest, and at the same time the most beautiful part of Egypt. It was called Delta, and divided into numberless islands, which swarmed with inhabitants. In

consequence of this it abounded with towns and cities beyond any country upon earth, some of which seem to have been of great extent. These islands were finely planted; and the communication between them was kept up in boats and barges. In this manner they made their visits to particular temples at stated times; which voyages were attended with music, collations, and the highest [1] festivity. In the course of their navigation they passed by innumerable towns and villages, surrounded with gardens well disposed, and abounding with trees of different sorts, particularly with palms and [2] peach-trees, and groves of acacia. On the Lybian side, to the west, a large region seems to have been of old overflowed by the waters of the Nile, which had no outlet to pass freely, and became stagnant and unwholesome. An antient king took an opportunity, during the recess of the Nile, to dig out the waste mud, and with it to form an head below; by which means he prevented the exuberant waters from descending any more to the lower country. All that was above he formed into a mighty lake, which comprehended a space of

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[1] Herod. l. 2. c. 60. 61.

[2] The Persica, a tree most acceptable to Isis. Plutarch. Is. et Osir. p. 378.

above one hundred [3] miles square. In this were many islands, with temples and obelisks: and close upon it was the Labyrinth, a stupendous work; also the city of the sacred crocodile, held in great veneration. It was called the lake Mœris, and was supposed to have had this name from the king, by whom it was made. But Mœris signifies a marish, or marsh, and alludes to its pristine state, from whence it was denominated. The later Egyptians did not know for certain the name of any one prince, by whom their great works had been performed. They either substituted the title of some Deity, or out of the name of the place formed a personage, whom they supposed to have been the chief agent. Lacus Mœris signifies the marsh-lake, the piece of water made out of the fen: and the region below, which was converted to dry ground, was called [4] Scithiaca, also *the sea without water*. That part of Delta, which existed in the first ages, was, in like manner, marshy, as I have shewn. It was likewise continually increasing towards its basis by the protrusion of soil from the river. This was

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[3] Herod. l. 2. c. 149. Mela. l. 1. c. 9. p. 56. Quingenta millia passuum in circuitu patens.

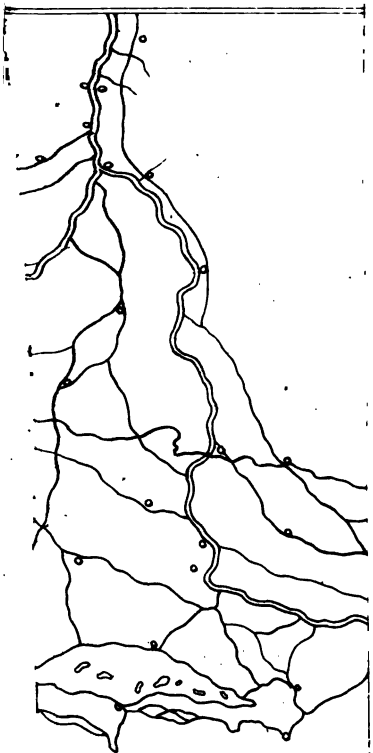
[4] Σκιθιακη χωρα. Ptolemy. l. 4. c. 5. p. 121. Called also Macaria, or the land of Macar.

very considerable when the Nile overflowed, so that the lower region had every year an additional barrier towards the sea; and oftentimes new islands arose from the prevalence of the floods above. What it was originally may be seen from the natural trending of the coast, if we take in a large circuit, and carry the terminating curve from Ascalon, Gaza, and Mount Casius on one side, to Alexandria and Parætonium on the other. This line, regularly produced, as in the annexed map, will shew the original extent of Delta; and what exceeds that termination will mark the increase of soil which the country has for ages been obtaining. Of all this the natives availed themselves. What was thus given them they raised by art, and further improved, and gained one-third more of territory by this increment from the Nile.

The Mizraïm, who settled in Egypt, were branched out into [5] seven families. Of these the Caphtorim were one, who seem to have resided between Pelusium and Mount Casius, upon the sea-coast. Pelusium was properly in Arabia; but the Egyptians very early drew a vast canal, which reached near an hundred and fifty miles from Bubastus to the [6] sea. This was a barrier to the

[5] Genesis. c. 10. v. 13.

[6] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 52.



east; and included Pelusium within the precincts of Egypt. Caphtor, from whence the people were denominated, signifies a tower upon a promontory, and was probably the same as Migdol, and the original place of residence of the Caphtorim. This people made an early migration into Canaan, where they were called Palestines, the Philistim of the Hebrews; and the country where they settled was named [7] Palæstina. Whether the whole of their family, or only a part, are included in this migration, is uncertain. Be it as it may, they seem to have come up by divine commission, and to have been entitled to immunities, which to the Canaanites were denied. [8] *Have not I* (saith the Lord) *brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt? and the Philistines from Caphtor?* In consequence of this, upon the coming of the Israelites into Canaan, they seem to have been unmolested for years. They certainly knew, from the beginning, that the land was destined for the Israelites, and that they

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[7] Παλαιστινα of Greece. Pelusium was called Pelessin, and Pelestin: and the people who settled in the part of Canaan, of which we are speaking, called it Pelestina, in memorial of the region from whence they came.

[8] Amos. c. 9. v. 7. Jeremiah speaks of the remnant of Caphtor, by which he alludes to the Philistines. c. 47. v. 4. See Deuteronomy. c. 2. v. 23.

only dwelt there by permission. Hence, when Abraham sojourned at Gerar, the king of the country was particularly courteous, and offered him any part of his demesnes to dwell in. [9] *And Abimelech said, Behold, my land is before thee; dwell where it pleaseth thee.* And when the Patriarch afterwards, being aggrieved, retired to Beersheba, the king thought proper to go to him, attended with Phichol, his chief captain, who was probably one of the Anakim, and insisted upon a covenant and promise, which was to be in force for future generations. [10] *Now therefore swear unto me here by God, that thou wilt not deal falsely with me, nor with my son, nor with my son's son: but according to the kindness that I have done unto thee, thou shalt do unto me,* AND TO THE LAND, *wherein thou hast sojourned.* Many years afterwards the same thing happened to Isaac. He had resided at Gerar, and was obliged to retire to Beersheba, where he pitched his tent. The herdsmen of the king had used him ill; and the prince of the country made a point to be reconciled to him, and set out with his chief captain, and in the same state as his

[9] Genesis. c. 20. v. 15.

[10] Ibid. c. 21. v. 23.

[11] predecessor. [12] *And Isaac said unto them, Wherefore come ye to me, seeing ye hate me?—And they said, We saw certainly that the Lord was with thee: and we said, Let there be now an oath betwixt us, even betwixt us and thee; and let us make a covenant with thee, that thou wilt do us no hurt.* What hurt could be feared, either to them, or to their country, from an old man of above an hundred years, who with his whole retinue had been put to flight by some herdsmen? or what harm could be dreaded from Abraham, who was equally advanced in years, or from his attendants? Yet a covenant was desired: and nothing can more effectually shew the reputed sanctity of these Patriarchs, and the dignity of their character, than the reverential regard which was paid to them. Weak to appearance, and unsettled, without the least portion of land which they could call their own, they are solicited by the princes of the country, who cannot think themselves secure without their benediction and

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[11] It was undoubtedly a different king of the country. Abimelech was not a proper name, but an hereditary title. Phichol signifies *the mouth of all;* or the person who gives out orders: in other words, the commander in chief. The meeting of Isaac and Abimelech was above an hundred years after the interview with Abraham.

[12] Gen. c. 26. v. 27.

favour. And the covenant sued for by these persons is not merely sued for their own time, but to extend to their sons, and sons sons, and to the land in which they dwelt. Accordingly, when Joshua conquered the kingdoms of Canaan, we find no mention made of the Philistines being engaged in those wars, nor of their having entered into any confederacy with the kings of the country. And though their cities were adjudged to the tribe of Judah, yet they were not [13] subdued; and seem to have enjoyed a term of rest for above forty years. No mention is made of any hostilities during the life of Joshua; which, considering their situation, is hard to be accounted for, except upon the principles upon which I have proceeded. It is probable that they afterwards forgot the covenant which had been formerly made, and would not acknowledge any right of property or jurisdiction in the Israelites: upon which they were invaded by the sons of Judah, and some of their cities taken. These hostilities commenced in the time of Caleb, above forty years after the Israelites had been in Canaan.

The other tribes of the Mizraïm sent out colonies to the west, and occupied many regions in

[13] Joshua. c. 13. v. 2.

Africa, to which part of the world they seem to have confined themselves. The children also of Phut, the third of the sons of Ham, passed very deep to the southward; and many of the black nations are descended from them, more, I believe, than from any other family. We are informed by [14] Josephus, that *Phut was the founder of the nations in Libya;* and that *the people were from him called* Φουτοι, *Phuti.* By Libya he understands, as the Greeks did, Africa in general: for the country called Libya Proper was peopled by the Lubim, or Lehabim, one of the branches from Mizraïm. [15] Λαβιειμ, ἐξ οὗ Λιβυες. *From Lehabim came the Libyes,* says the author of the Chronicon Paschale. The sons of Phut settled in Mauritania; where was a region called Phutia, as we learn from Jerom; and a river of the like denomination. [16] Moritaniæ fluvius usque ad præsens tempus Phut dicitur: omnisque circa eum regio Phutensis. [17] Josephus also mentions in this country a river so called. Some of this family settled above Egypt, near Ethiopia, and were styled Troglodytæ, as we learn from Syncellus.

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[14] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. See Bochart. Phaleg. p. 295.

[15] Chron. Pasch. p. 29.

[16] Traditiones Hebr.

[17] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7.

[18] Φουδ, ἐξ οὗ Τρωγλοδυται. Many of them passed inland, and peopled the mediterranean country. In process of time, the sons of Chus, after their expulsion from Babylonia and Egypt, made settlements upon the sea-coast of Africa, and came into Mauritania. We accordingly find traces of them in the names which they bequeathed to places; such as Chuzis, Chusarez, upon the coast; and a city Cotta, with a promontory Cotis, in Mauritania. Flumen Cosenum also is mentioned by [19] Pliny. By their coming into these parts, the memorials of the Phuteans were in some degree, obscured. They are, however, to be found lower down; and the country upon one side of the river Gambia is at this day called Phuta. Of this Bluet gives an account in his history of Moses Ben Solomon. It is not possible at this æra to discriminate the several casts among the black nations. Many have thought, that all those who had woolly hair, were of the Ethiopian or Cuthite breed: but nothing can be inferred from this difference of hair, for many of the Ethiopic race had strait hair, as we learn from [20] Herodotus: and we are told by Marcellinus, that some of the

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[18] Syncellus. p. 47.

[19] L. 5. c. 1.

[20] Ἰθυτρίχες Αἰθίοπες. L. 7. c. 70.

Egyptians had a tendency to wool. From whence we may infer, that it was a circumstance more or less to be observed in all the branches of the line of Ham, but universally among the Nigritæ, of whatever branch they may have been.

The learning and wisdom of the Egyptians have been always greatly celebrated, so that there is no writer of consequence who treats of their history, but speaks of them with admiration. The Grecians had high notions of their own antiquity and learning; yet, notwithstanding all their prejudices, they ever allow the superiority of the Egyptians. Herodotus had visited Egypt, and seen the temples and colleges of that country. In consequence of this, he had opportunities of gaining some intelligence of the natives, whom he mentions with the highest marks of honour. He says, that they were the [21] wisest of all nations: and he acknowledges, that they were never beholden for any thing to the Grecians; but on the contrary, that [22] Greece had borrowed largely from Egypt. No nation appears to have enjoyed a better established polity. Their councils, senate, and tribunals seem to have been

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[21] L. 2. c. 121. c. 160.

[22] L. 2. c. 49. See Clemens. Alexand. Strom. l. 1. p. 361.

very [23] august, and highly regarded. Their community was composed of [24] seven different orders. In most of these there were degrees of honour, to which particulars, upon their any ways excelling, were permitted to rise. They were deeply skilled in [25] astronomy and geometry; also in chymistry and physic. Indeed they seem to have been acquainted with every branch of philosophy; which they are supposed of all nations to have cultivated the [26] first. The natives of Thebes above all others were renowned for their great wisdom; and for their knowledge in these [27] sciences. Their improvements in geometry are thought to have been owing to the nature of their [28] country; for the land of Egypt being annually overflowed, and all property confounded, they were obliged,

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[23] See Johannes Nicolaus de Synedrio Ægyptiorum. Lugd. Bat. anno 1706.

[24] Herodotus l. 2. c. 163.

[25] Diodorus. l. 1. p. 63. Clemens Alex. Strom. l. 5. p. 657. Herodot. l. 3. c. 129. The very term Chymistry, Chemia, Χημια signifies *the Egyptian art*. The country itself was named Chemia, and Chamia, or the land of Cham. Another sense of Chemia, and Al-Chemia is *a process by fire*.

[26] Tatianus Assyrius. p. 243. Just. Martyr. Cohort. p. 18.

[27] Οἱ δὲ Θηβαιοι φασιν ἑαυτους αρχαιοτατους ειναι παντων ανθρωπων, και παρ' ἑαυτοις πρωτοις φιλοσοφιαν τε ευρεσθαι, και την εκ' ακριβεις αστρολογιαν. κτλ. Diodorus. l. 1. p. 46.

[28] Herodot. l. 2. c. 109.

upon the retreat of the waters, to have recourse to geometrical decision, in order to determine the limits of their possessions. All the best architecture of Greece may be traced to its original in [29] Egypt. Here were the first efforts of genius disclosed; as may be still seen about Luxorain, Ombus, Assouan, and Thebes. In these parts resided the Artists, who formed the antient cornice and architrave: and who invented the capital, and shaft, of which the first pillar was composed. And however early these specimens may have been, yet there are among them some, which witness no small elegance and beauty. To them is attributed the invention of the [30] zodiac and sphere: and they are said to have first observed accurately the solstitial points; and to have determined the year. Macrobius styles Egypt *the parent of* [31] *arts*: and he says, that Julius Cæsar,

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[29] See Pocock's Egypt. p. 216. and Norden; Plates 107. 127. and 144.

[30] Macrobius Somn. Scip. l. 1. p. 75. 76. Herod. l. 2. c. 4.

Anni certus modus apud solos Ægyptios semper fuit. Macrob. Saturn. l. 1. p. 169.

[31] Ægyptus artium mater. Ibid. p. 180.

Αιγυπτιοι τοινυν Αιγυπτιοι παρ' αυτοις την τε των γραμματων ευρεσιν γενεσθαι, και των αστρων παρατηρησιν· προς δε τουτοις τα τε περι την γεωμετριαν θεωρηματα, και των τειχων τας πλειστας ευρεθηναι. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 63.

when he took in hand to correct the Roman Calendar, effected it upon Egyptian principles; [32] *copying those great masters, who were the only proficients upon earth in the noble and divine sciences.* The works which they erected were immense. Both their obelisks and pyramids have been looked up to with amazement: and it has been the study of the world to devise, by what mechanical powers they were effected. Their ramparts, sluices, canals, and lakes, have never been surpassed, either in number, or magnificence, by any people in the world. Their sculptures, though executed in so early an age, are represented in many instances as very curious and precise. Frederic Hasselquist, a learned Swede, [33] assures us, that he could plainly distinguish every bird, and the particular species of every bird, upon the obelisk at Matarea.

No wonder, that a people so excellent should be beheld with a degree of [34] veneration by the Grecians. On this account all those, who were zealous of making a proficiency in philosophy, be-

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[32] C. Cæsar—imitatus Ægyptios, solos divinarum rerum omnium conscios. Macrob. Sat. l. 1. p. 178.

[33] Travels. p. 99.

[34] Πολλα γαρ των παλαιων εθων γενομενων παρ' Αιγυπτιοις ου μονον παρα τοις εγχωριοις αποδοχης ετυχεν, αλλα και παρα τοις Ἑλλησιν ου μετριως εθαυμασθη. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 62.

took themselves to [35] Egypt, which was the academy of Greece. Among the foremost of these were Pythagoras, Thales, Solon, [36] Eudoxus, [37] Plato: who studied there a good while. In the days of the two last, the country was more open to foreigners: and from that time it was more generally and more eagerly visited. Yet the Ægyptians were then lowered, by having been so often subdued: their histories had been greatly damaged, and their knowledge much impaired. Yet there was sufficient merit still left to make even a Grecian admire. From hence we may fairly judge of the primitive excellence of this people: for if science appeared so lovely in ruins, what must have been its lustre, when in a state of perfection?

O, quam te dicam bonam
Antehac fuisse, tales cum sint reliquiæ!

It is observable, that in the law of Moses a defer-

[35] Diodorus, ibid. Clemens Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 356.

[36] Eudoxus primus ab Ægypto motus (siderum) in Græciam transtulit.—Conon postea, diligens et ipse inquisitor, defectiones quidem (forte quasdam) solis ab Ægyptiis servatas collegit. Senecæ Quæst. Nat. l. 7. c. 3.

[37] Macrobius mentions, that Plato in particular was an admirer of the Egyptians. Plato Ægyptios, omnium philosophiæ disciplinarum auctores, secutus. Somn. Scip. l. 1. p. 64.

ence is paid to the Egyptians; and the Israelites were ordered to look upon them with an eye of favour: nay, they were permitted to enter the sanctuary after the second [38] generation.

The Egyptians were very happily situated; and enjoyed all the necessaries of life within themselves. They were peculiarly fortunate both in the salubrity of their air, and in the uncommon properties of the Nile. Their animals were very prolific: and their soil, being continually renewed, was beyond measure fruitful; and in most places produced two crops of corn in a year. They moreover enjoyed the good things of the whole earth: for though they were themselves averse to navigation, yet they admitted merchants to Coptos, and to other places. From these they received balm, gold, spices, ivory, gems; and in return they gave their corn, flax, and fine linen, and whatever was the product of Egypt. The sacred writers take notice of the rich garments, and curious embroideries of this people: indeed there are repeated allusions in the Scriptures to their wonderful [39] skill and wisdom. Hence, when the prophet Isaiah foretells the ruin of the kingdom, he

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[38] Deuteron. c. 23. v. 7. 8.

[39] Ezekiel mentions the Tyrians trading for *the fine linen, and embroidered work of Egypt*. c. 27. v. 7. The Egyptians, *that work in fine flax*. Isaiah. c. 19. v. 9.

speaks of the superior understanding of the people, which nothing but a judicial blindness could pervert. [40] *The Lord hath mingled a perverse spirit in the midst (of Egypt).* [41] *Surely the princes of Zoan are fools: the counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish. How say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise; the son of antient kings? Where are they? Where are thy wise men?—The princes of Zoan are become fools: the princes of Noph are deceived. They have also seduced Egypt.* The prophet had before said, [42] *The spirit of Egypt shall fail in the midst thereof; and I will destroy the counsel thereof:—and the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord, and a fierce king,* &c. Hence we find, that nothing but infatuation could be the ruin of this people.

Egypt of all countries seems to have been the most secure. It was to the north defended by the sea; and on every other side by deserts of great extent. It abounded with inhabitants; and had many cities of great strength: and as it enjoyed every thing necessary for life within itself, and was in a manner secluded from the

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[40] C. 19. 14.
[41] C. 19. v. 11. 12. 13.
[42] V. 3.

world, it had little to fear from any foreign power. We find, however, that it was conquered more than once; and, after a series of great calamities finally brought to ruin.

The misfortunes of this people arose from a repining discontented spirit, which produced intestine animosities. They often set aside their rightful monarch, and substituted many princes instead of [43] one. At the invasion of Sabacon, the Ethiopian, the Egyptians seem to have been disunited by factions, and under many petty [44] princes. And when the Ethiopic government ceased, they again lapsed into a state of misrule; till at last twelve of the most powerful in the nation assumed regal dignity, and each seized to himself a portion of the [45] kingdom. This was productive of still greater confusion, and of more bitter feuds. For though they are said to have agreed together for a while, yet they at last quar-

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[43] See Marsham's Chron. Sæc. 16. Πολυκοιρανιη, p. 443.

[44] Sabacon Æthiops Ægyptum jam disjunctis viribus debilitatam occupat. Ibid. Sæc. 16. p. 456. When afterwards Sennacherib invaded the land, the soldiers refused to fight. Herodot. l. 2. c. 141.

[45] Των οχλων εις ταραχας και φονους εμφυλιους τρεπομενων, εποιησαντο συνωμοσιαν οι μυγιστοι των ηγεμονων δωδεκα, και—απεδειξαν ἑαυτες βασιλεις. Diodorus. l. 1. p. 59. See also Herod. l. 2. c. 147.

relled, and hostilities [46] commenced, till in the end the monarchy came to Psammitichus. Of these commotions the prophet Isaiah speaks, when he is foretelling the destruction of Egypt. [47] *I will set the Egyptians*, says the Deity, *against the Egyptians; and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour; city against city, and nome against nome. And the spirit of Egypt shall fail in the midst thereof: and I will destroy the counsel thereof.* They were the wisest people upon earth; but their good sense was at last perverted; and no nation ever co-operated more strongly to its own destruction. Hence they were conquered by Esar-Adon the Assyrian; and by the king of Babylon Nebuchadnezzar, who took advantage of these internal commotions. Afterward they became a more easy prey to the Persians, and Grecians, who ruled over them in their turns. The conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar seems to have been attended with grievous calamities, such as the nation had never before experienced. The country, as I have mentioned, was so happily situated, as to have little occasion to interfere

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[46] Diodorus. l. 1. p. 60.

[47] C. 19. v. 2.

with the politics of other nations. But they were a mighty people, and could not refrain themselves from shewing their power. Hence they unnecessarily opposed both the [48] Assyrians and Babylonians: and Pharaoh Necho went up [49] twice to Carchemish upon the Euphrates, to encounter those nations. He was at last [50] beaten; and both by his march upwards, and by his retreat, he pointed out the path to Egypt, and shewed how it might be assailed. In consequence of this it was attacked by Nebuchadnezzar, and totally subdued: and not content with this, the victor seems to have carried his resentment to a violent degree, so as almost to extirpate the nation. What they suffered may be known from what was predicted; which contains a sad denunciation of evil. [51] *Therefore, thus saith the Lord God; Behold I will bring a sword upon thee; and cut off man and beast out of thee. And the land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste; and they shall know, that I am the Lord: because he hath said, The river is mine, and I have made*

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[48] 2 Kings. c. 19. v. 9. and c. 23. v. 29. 2 Chron. c. 35. v. 20.

[49] 2 Chron. c. 35. v. 20. Jeremiah. c. 46. v. 2.

[50] Jeremiah. c. 46. v. 2.

[51] Ezekiel. c. 29. v. 8

it. Behold, therefore I am against thee, and against thy rivers; and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste, and desolate, from the Tower Migdol to Syene, and the border of Ethiopia. No foot of man shall pass through it, nor foot of beast shall pass through it, neither shall it be inhabited forty years. And I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate; and her cities, among the cities that are laid waste, shall be desolate forty years: and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries. Yet thus saith the Lord God, At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people, whither they were scattered. And I will bring again the captivity of Egypt; and will cause them to return into the land of Paphros, into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a base kingdom. In the subsequent part of this prophecy there are many beautiful allusions to the rites and idolatry of this people: and the same is to be observed in Jeremiah. [52] *Oh, thou daughter, dwelling in Egypt, furnish thyself to go into captivity: for Noph shall be waste and desolate without an inhabitant. Egypt is like a fair heifer; but destruction cometh: it cometh out of*

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[52] Jeremiah c. 46. v. 19.

the north. Also her hired men are in the midst of her, like fatted bullocks; for they also—are fled away together: they did not stand, because the day of their calamity was come upon them—The daughter of Egypt shall be confounded: she shall be delivered into the hand of the people of the north. The Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, saith; Behold, I will punish the multitude of No, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their Gods, and their kings; even Pharaoh, and all them that trust in him. And I will deliver them into the hand of those, that seek their lives; and into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, and into the hand of his servants: and afterwards it shall be inhabited, as in the days of old, saith the Lord. We see, that the desolation of the country is foretold by both prophets; and likewise a restoration of those who were to be carried into captivity. This return of the people, according to Ezekiel, was not to be effected till after forty years. The accounts in the Egyptian histories concerning these times are very dark and inconsistent. So much we learn, that there were great commotions and [53] migrations of people, when Pharaoh Necho, and Psammitichus are supposed to have reigned. And both these, and the

[53] Plin. l. 6. c. 30. Strabo. l. 16. p. 1115.

subsequent kings, are represented as admitting the [54] Carians, and other nations into Egypt, and hiring mercenaries for the defence of the country. All this is repugnant to their former [55] manners; and shews, that the country was become thin of inhabitants, and wanted to be repeopled. Most writers mention an interval about this time, which is styled χρονος αβασιλευτος: but they suppose it to have been only [56] eleven years. Diodorus Siculus mentions about the same time an interval of four [57] ages, in which there was no king. The original history was undoubtedly not four ages, but four decads of years; and agrees very well with the prophecy of Ezekiel. The historian places this interval between the reign of Psammitichus and Apries. But there is no trust to be given to the position of the kings of Egypt about this time. Apries is by some expressed [58] Vaphres; and is with good reason supposed to be

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[54] Diodorus. l. 1. p. 60. 61. Strabo. l. 17. p. 1153.

[55] Πρωτοι ἐτοι ες Αιγυπτω αλλογλωσσοι. Herod. l. 2. c. 154.

[56] Sir John Marsham thinks very truly, that these eleven years relate to the anarchy brought on by Nebuchadnezzar. Hiatus iste, sive annorum undecim αναρχια, cum calamitatibus Ægypto a Nabuchodonosoro illatis convenienter se habet. Chron. Sæc. 18. p. 543.

[57] L. 1. p. 62.

[58] Africanus apud Euseb. et Syncellum.

the Pharaoh Hophra of the [59] Scriptures. He is the prince, concerning whom Jeremiah prophesied, and who by Eusebius is called [60] Ουαφρης, Vaphres. He introduces him not long after the captivity; and says, that when Jerusalem was ruined, many of the Jews fled to him for shelter. On this account it was, that the prophet denounced God's wrath upon him, and upon those who trusted in his assistance. [61] *Behold, I will watch over them for evil, and not for good: and all the men of Judah, that are in the land of Egypt, shall be consumed by the sword, and by the famine, until there be an end of them. Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life: as I gave Zedekiah, king of Judah, into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, his enemy, and that sought his life.* By whose hand he was cut off, is not said. We find, [62] that he lived soon after Jerusalem had been ruined by the Babylonians; consequently before the desolation of Egypt: for this did not happen till after the se-

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[59] Jeremiah. c. 44. v. 30. Τον Ουαφρη βασιλεα. Seventy.

[60] Ουαφρης ετη κε, ὡ προσεφυγον, ἁλωσης ὑπο Ασσυριων Ἱερυσαλημ, ὑι των Ιουδαιων πολοιποι. Euseb. Chron. p. 17.

[61] Jeremiah. c. 44. v. 27.

[62] Ibid. v. 30.

ven and twentieth year of the captivity. [63] *And it came to pass in the seven and twentieth year, in the first month, in the first day of the month, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying: Son of man; Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: yet he had no wages, nor his army, for the service that he served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon: and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and it shall be the wages for his army. For I have given him the land of Egypt for his labour.* —[64] *From Migdol to Syene shall they fall.*— [65] *And I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and disperse them among the countries.* This desolation was to be for forty years; at the end of which period the Egyptians were to be restored. I have dwelt a good deal upon this subject, because it is an æra of great consequence. We find from these accounts, that Pharaoh Hophra preceded these calamities; and should be placed prior to the four ages of Diodorus. We

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[63] Ezekiel. c. 29. v. 17. Jeremiah. c. 43. v. 10. and c. 44. v. 1.

[64] C. 30. v. 6.

[65] Ibid. v. 26.

may learn also from hence, why the history of Egypt in general, and especially about these times, is so defective. From Sabacon downwards to Apries there is great [66] uncertainty and confusion. All this was owing to the feuds and commotions, and to the final dispersion of the people; which was attended with the ruin of their temples, and of the colleges, where their priests resided. These were at Aven, the same as On; also at Taphanes, No-Ammon, Moph, Zoan, and Pathros: which places, and regions, had been by name specified as the objects of God's wrath. When their seminaries were again opened, and their priesthood established, I make no doubt, but that the Egyptians tried to retrieve their lost annals, and to rectify what had been impaired. And in respect to astronomy, and other parts of philosophy, they seem to have succeeded. But a great part of their history had been consigned to pillars and obelisks; and described in the sacred characters, which consisted of hieroglyphics. These were imperfect helps to oral tradition; and never could from the beginning give a precise account of those great events, which they were supposed to commemorate. They contained the

[66] See Marsham's Chron. Sæc. 18. p. 542.

outlines of the history: the rest was to be supplied by those who undertook to explain them; and who interpreted as they had been traditionally instructed. But when this traditional information ceased, or was but imperfectly known, these characters became in great measure unintelligible: at least they could never be precisely decyphered. Hence has arisen that uncertainty which we experience both in the history, and mythology of this people.

OF THE

EGYPTIAN KINGS,

AND

DYNASTIES.

PLUTARCH takes notice of the great difficulties with which the Egyptian history is attended. He however acknowledges, that some helps are to be obtained, but those inconsiderable, and very discouraging. [1] Καίτοι λεπταί τινες ἀπορρῳαι, και ἀμυδραι της ἀληθειας ενεισι ταις Αιγυπτιων ενδιεσπαρμεναι μυθολογιαις· αλλα ιχνηλατης δεινος δεονται, και μεγαλα μικροις ἰλειν δυναμενος. *There are after all some slight and obscure traces of true history here and there to be found, as they lie scattered up and down in the antient writings of Egypt. But it requires a person of uncommon address to find them out; one, who can deduce great truths from scanty premises.*

[1] Plutarch. Ερωτικα. p. 762.

This at first is sufficient to deter a person from going on in a study of this nature. But, upon recollection, we find that we have helps, to which the more early writers were strangers. We have for a long time had light opening upon us, and begin now to avail ourselves of the blessing. We talk indeed of antient days, and times of antiquity, but that time is most aged which has endured longest; and these are the most antient days in which we are ourselves conversant. We enjoy now an age of accumulated experience; and we are to make use of the helps which have been transmitted, to dispel the mist which has preceded.

Nothing has so embarrassed the learned world as the dynasties of the kings of Egypt. We find that there were people very early in the Christian æra who took pains to collate and arrange them; and many of the best chronologers in the last and present century have been at much pains to render them consistent. But notwithstanding this has been attempted by persons of most consummate learning, yet their endeavours have hitherto been attended with little advantage. The principal of those of old, who have at all engaged in this history, are Theophilus, Tatianus, Clemens, Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus. The three first only casually touch upon it; but the others are more particular and diffuse. Josephus also, of Judea, in his curious treatise against Apion,

has a great deal to this purpose. The chief persons to whose authority writers principally appeal, are three: the first is the anonymous author of the Old Chronicle; which has been preserved by Syncellus, and thought to be of very early date. To this succeed the dynasties of Manethon of Sebennis, who was an Egyptian priest in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and wrote what he exhibited, at the request of that prince. The third is the account given by Eratosthenes, of Cyrene, in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, who has transmitted a curious account of the Theban kings; but of those solely, without taking any notice of the princes in other parts of Egypt. From these Egyptian writers the accounts given by Africanus and Eusebius have been compiled, as well as those by Syncellus. According to these chronologers, the number of the dynasties amounts to thirty and one; and they extend downwards to the reign of Darius, who was conquered by Alexander. Many moderns have gone deep in these inquiries; among whom we ought to mention, with particular respect, Petavius, Scaliger, Perizonius, and the incomparable Sir John Marsham.

As there are different specimens transmitted by antient authors of the Egyptian history, one would imagine that there could not be much difficulty in collating the reigns of princes, and

correcting any mistake that may have happened in the dynasties. But these writers often differ essentially from each other; and as there is nothing synchronical to which we can safely apply, it is impossible, when two writers or more differ, to determine which is in the right. Add to this, that these dynasties extend upwards, not only beyond the deluge, but one thousand three hundred and thirty-six years beyond the common æra of the creation. Sir John Marsham is very sanguine in favour of the system which he has adopted, yet is often obliged to complain of having a most barren field of investigation, where there are nothing but names and numbers; and he acknowledges how difficult it is to arrive at any certainty, when a set of unmeaning terms present themselves without any collateral history. There is one mistake common to all who have engaged in this dark scrutiny. They proceed upon some preconceived notion, which they look upon as a certainty, and to this test every thing is brought. Such is the reign of Inachus, the flood of Ogyges, the landing of Danaus in Greece. Such also is the supposed reign of a king when Joseph went into Egypt, and the reign of another, when the Israelites departed. They set out upon these facts as first principles, though they are the things which want most to be canvassed: and when they have too incon-

siderately made these assumptions, they put a force upon all other history that it may be brought to accord. In most lists of the Egyptian kings, Menes is found first. Many writers suppose this personage to have been Mizraïm; others think it was Ham; others again that it was Noah. And as these lists go down as far as Alexander the Great, the dynasties are to be dilated, or curtailed, according to their greater or less distance from the extremes. In one thing they seem to be agreed, that the number of the dynasties was thirty and one.

Whether it be in the power of man to thoroughly regulate the Egyptian chronology, I will not pretend to say. To make some advances towards a work of this consequence is worth our attempting; and if it is not always possible to determine in these dynasties what is true, it may, however, be of service to point out that which is false; for by abridging history of what is spurious, our pursuit will be reduced into narrower limits. By these means those who come after will be less liable to be bewildered, as they will be confined to a smaller circle, and consequently brought nearer to the truth.

The first attempt towards rectifying the chronology of Egypt must consist in lopping off entirely the sixteen first dynasties from the thirty-one specified in Eusebius: for I am persuaded,

that the original list consisted of fifteen dynasties only. The rest are absolutely spurious, and have been the chief cause of that uncertainty of which we have been so long complaining. This may appear too bold and desperate a way of procedure: nor would I venture to speak so confidently, were I not assured that they never really existed, but took their rise from a very common mistake of the Grecians. This may be proved from that antient Chronicle of which I took notice above. The Grecians had this, and many other good evidences before them, as they plainly shew: but they did not understand the writings to which they appealed; nor the evidences which they have transmitted. In the first place I much question, whether any Grecian writer ever learned the language of Egypt. Many negative proofs might be brought to shew, that neither Plato, nor Pythagoras, nor Strabo, were acquainted with that tongue. If any of them had attempted the acquisition of it, such was their finesse and delicacy, that the first harsh word would have shocked them, and they would immediately have given up the pursuit. If they could not bring themselves to introduce an uncouth word in their writings, how could they have endured to have uttered one, and to have adopted it for common use? I doubt whether any of the Fathers were acquainted with the language of the country.

Besides, the histories of which we are speaking were written in the sacred language and character which were grown obsolete; and Manethon, Apion, and other Hellenic Egyptians, who borrowed from them, were not well acquainted with their purport. Had these memorials been understood, we should not have been at a loss to know who built the pyramids, and formed the lakes and labyrinth, which were the wonders of the world. In respect to the Fathers who got intelligence in Egypt, they obtained it by a very uncertain mode of inquiry, and were obliged to interpreters for their knowledge. The Grecians wrote from left to right; but the more eastern nations from [2] right to left. This was a circumstance which they either did not know, or to which they did not always attend, and were therefore guilty of great mistakes; and these consisted not only in a faulty arrangement of the elements, of which the names are composed, but also in a wrong distribution of events. Hence an historical series is often inverted from want of knowledge in the true disposition of the subject. Something similar to this has happened in respect to

[2] Αιγυπτιοι (γραφουσιν) απο των δεξιων επι τα αριστερα. Herod. l. 2. c. 36.

the Old Chronicle which has been preserved by Syncellus. It contains an epitome of the Egyptian history; and was undoubtedly obvious to every person in that country. In short, it must have been one of the chief sources from whence Manethon, and others who came after him, drew. Those of the Grecians, who occupied the dynasties from the original, were necessarily told, that the true arrangement here was different from that which was in use in Greece: that according to their way of reckoning, the first dynasty was the fifteenth, or sixteenth, according to the point from whence they counted. In consequence of this they have marked it the fifteenth, or sixteenth; and then fancying that there was a long series preceding, they have invented as many dynasties more, as they thought wanting, to supply this seeming vacancy. This is not surmise, for we may see the very thing done by [3] Syncellus. He has transmitted to us an abridgment of the Egyptian history from the Old Chronicle; containing the dynasties of their kings. And, as he was told, that the first was the fifteenth according to his way of numeration, he has actually marked it the fifteenth. In consequence of this

[3] I mention Syncellus; but it may be the person from whom he borrowed, who was guilty of this mistake.

he supposes, contrary to the authority of the history, fourteen prior dynasties, which with that of the Demigods make thirty in the whole. But what he calls the fifteenth, was the first of the Mizraïm, who succeeded the Auritæ, or Demigods; and this is plainly indicated in the history. It has been shewn, that there was no regal state in Egypt before the coming of the Shepherds, styled Auritæ: that with them commences the history of the country. Syncellus accordingly, having mentioned from this Chronicle the imaginary reigns of the Gods, comes at last to those who really reigned; and places them in this order: [4] πρωτον μεν των Αυριτων, δευτερον δε των Μεστραιων. τριτον δε Αιγυπτιων. *The first series of princes was that of the Auritæ: the second was that of the Mestræans, or Mizraïm; the third of Egyptians.* These are the words of the Chronicle; and, one would think, sufficiently clear and determinate, had not the Greeks been infatuated through their preconceived opinions. The author afterwards subjoins the list of their kings from the Chronicle, in which the Demigods stand plainly first: and there is not the least hint given of any prior dynasties. Syncellus, not knowing that the

[4] P. 51.

Demigods were the Auritæ, begins with the next series as the first, and calls it the fifteenth.

[5] THE REIGNS OF THE GODS, according to the Old Chronicle.

To Hephaistus is assigned no time, as he is uniformly apparent both by night and day.

Helius, the son of Hephaistus, reigned three myriads of years.

Then Cronus, and the other twelve Divinities reigned 3984 years.

Next in order are the Demigods (the Auritæ), in number eight, who reigned 217 years 217

After these are enumerated fifteen generations of the Cunic circle, which take up 443 years 443

16. The sixteenth dynasty is of the Tanites, eight kings, which lasted 190 years 190

17. The seventeenth of Memphites, four in descent,—103 years 103

18. The eighteenth of Memphites, fourteen in descent,—348 years 348

[5] Ibid.

19. The nineteenth of Diospolites, five in descent,—194 years 194
20. The twentieth of Diospolites, eight in descent,—228 years 228
21. The twenty-first of Tanites, six in descent,—121 years 121
22. The twenty-second of Tanites, three in descent,—48 years 48
23. The twenty-third, Diospolites, two in descent,—19 years 19
24. The twenty-fourth, Saïtes, three in descent,—44 years 44
25. The twenty-fifth, Ethiopians, three in descent, 44 years 44
26. The twenty-sixth, Memphites, seven in decent,—177 years 177
27. The twenty-seventh, Persians, five in descent,—124 years 124
28. The twenty-eighth, lost.
29. The twenty-ninth, uncertain who,—39 years 39
30. The thirtieth, a Tanite,—18 years . . 18

To the above should be added the thirty-first dynasty, which consisted of three [6] Persians; for

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[6] Darius Ochus, Arses, and Darius Codomannus, who was conquered by Alexander.

with this every catalogue [7] concluded. The lists transmitted to us by Africanus and Eusebius, and that of Manethon, from whom they borrowed, closes with this: and it was undoubtedly in the original copy of Syncellus. We have in the above an epitome of the regal succession in Egypt, as it stood in the Antient Chronicle; and, though short, it will prove to us of much consequence in our inquiries. We find here, that the Demigods, or Auritæ, stand first, and with them the history of the country must commence. These are succeeded by those of the Cunic, or Royal circle, the antient Mizraïm; and those again by other dynasties in their order. As to Hephaistus, Helius, and the twelve other Gods, they were only so many sacred titles, which were either prefixed to the Egyptian calendar, or to the months of the year, by way of distinction. The numbers with which they were accompanied were astronomical computations, and related to time and its portions, and not to the reigns of princes. From hence we may be assured, that there were no kings prior to those above-mentioned. But the Grecians having been told, that, in their

[7] Τριακοστη πρωτη δυναστεια Περσων βασιλεων γ. Euseb. Chron. p. 17. Syncellus. p. 77. p. 256.

retrograde way of computation, the fifteenth dynasty was the first, were led to think that the converse also was true, and that the first was the fifteenth. And those who differ in the position of the Shepherd dynasty, yet count from the last. This may be seen in the Chronicle which I have exhibited above; where the first dynasty numbered is the Tanite, which is marked the sixteenth; and this is the [s] sixteenth from the bottom, if we include the last of the Persians. In consequence of this, that of the Auritæ must have been the fourteenth downwards, which would naturally induce us to expect many prior kings. But it is manifest, from Egyptian evidence, from the Chronicle itself, that there were no preceding dynasties; for the list of the Deities was not taken into consideration. Manethon counted it the fifteenth, and it is accordingly so expressed by Africanus. Hence these writers, and their followers, have been led to suppose, that there were once fourteen dynasties antecedent. They accordingly prefixed them to the true list, and immediately set themselves to work, in order to

[s] The reason of their stopping at this in their computation upwards, was, because this was looked upon as the first genuine Egyptian dynasty. This will be shewn hereafter.

remedy an evil which did not exist. For when thirteen or [9] fourteen dynasties had been thus imagined, it afforded matter of very much study to find out the persons of whom they were composed. There was a great vacuity, and the means were scanty towards supplying what was demanded. Menes was at hand to begin with, who is made the first king by all; and to him they subjoined a list of others, wherever they could obtain them. Africanus in his list mentions this person the first, and says, that he was a Thinite by birth, and destroyed by an hippopotamus. In this he is followed by others. But Menes I have shewn to have been the Lunar Deity, who was probably worshipped in some Thinite temple. The hippopotamus was represented as an emblem of his preservation; which they have perverted to an instrument of his destruction. Eusebius styles him a Thebinite, and Thebean. [10] Πρωτος εβασιλευσεν Μηνης Θηβινιτης, Θηβαιος· ὁς ἑρμηνευεται Διονιος. *The first who reigned was Menes, the Thebinite, the Arkæan; which is, by interpretation, the Ionian.* This Thebinite, and Arkæan, was, we find, the same person of

[9] They amount to sixteen in Eusebius; and as many in Africanus.

[10] Euseb. Chron. p. 18. l. 13.

whom the Iönah, or Dove, was an emblem; so that of his true history we cannot doubt.

At the beginning, next after Menes, they have got together an assemblage of names and titles, some of which belong to the Deities, and others seem to be borrowed from Eratosthenes, and occur in later ages. Such is Sesostris, whom they repeatedly introduce. They represent him as a gigantic personage; and he is at times called [11] Sesosis, Sethoosis, Sesonchosis, Geson, Goses; and otherwise diversified. Diodorus, and others, tell us how he conquered the whole earth; so that there was not a nation which did not acknowledge his power. Upon his return, after his conquests, the first thing which he took in hand was the making of a long [12] ditch upon the eastern coast of Egypt, to secure himself from his next neighbours. Strange! that the monarch of the whole earth, whose army is said to have been above half a million, should be afraid of a few clans upon the desert. He is mentioned as the first of the line of [13] Ham, who reigned in Egypt, and he is placed immediately after [14] Orus.

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[11] Newton's Chron. p. 69.

[12] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 52.

[13] Chron. Paschale. p. 47.

[14] Scholia in Apollon. l. 4. v. 272.

According to some, he comes a degree lower after [15] Thules, in which situation he occurs in [16] Eusebius. Yet he is again introduced by this author in the second dynasty under the name [17] Sesocris; and the like history is given of his height and stature, as is to be found in Herodotus and Diodorus. Again, in the twelfth dynasty, we meet with [18] Geson Goses in our copies of Eusebius, styled [19] Sesonchoris, but by Syncellus more truly rendered [20] Sesonchosis : and, what is strange, next but one in the same dynasty, we meet with [21] Sesostris. That we may not suppose him to have been a different person of the same name, a short history of his life and conquests is annexed. His height too, and stature, are described, just as we find them represented by other authors. From hence we may be assured of the identity of this person, who is thus repeatedly introduced to make up a supposed deficiency. In short they have adopted every variation of a name, and out of it formed a new king.

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[15] Cedrenus. p. 20.

[16] Euseb. Chron. p. 7. l. 43.

[17] Ibid. p. 14.

[18] Syncellus. p. 59.

[19] Euseb. Chron. p. 14.

[20] P. 73.

[21] Ibid. p. 59.

In this manner writers have tried to supply the vacancies in their imaginary dynasties of the kings of Egypt. But they soon begin to be tired: and we have many dynasties without a single name. The duration also of the reigns is often too short to be credited. In the eighth dynasty, twenty-seven Memphites reign but 146 years; which is little more than five years apiece. In the eleventh, sixteen Diospolites reign but 43 years; which amount not to three years apiece. In the thirteenth dynasty, sixty more Diospolites are found, and the sum of their reigns is but 184 years; which are not more than three years and a few weeks apiece. But, what is of all the most incredible, in the seventh dynasty seventy kings reign just [22] seventy days.

From the above we may perceive into what difficulties the chronologers were brought, who tried to supply these supernumerary dynasties by such wretched means. They searched into every old register; and laid their hands upon every list which occurred, in order to fill up these vacancies. Syncellus supposes [23] Menes to have been Mizraïm: but I have shewn, that he was another person; and the emblem of the hippopotamus proves it.

[22] Quot dies, tot reges. Marsham's Chron. Sæc. 7. p. 90. Eusebius alters this to fifteen days apiece: upon which Sir John Marsham observes, Numerus dierum augetur, ut reges singuli xv. dies habeant. Ibid.

[23] Syncellus. p. 91.

Besides, what reason have we to imagine, that Mizraïm reigned in Egypt, or that he was devoured by such an animal? The kings, who are brought in immediate succession to him, are [24] Athothis, Cercenes, and Venephes. But these very kings occur in the same order elsewhere. They occupy the fifty-ninth, sixtieth, and sixty-first places in the catalogue of Syncellus. They consequently lived about one thousand years later. Who can put up with these dynasties of Diospolites, and others, whose reigns are so uncommonly short? And is it possible to give credit to the account of seventy kings, who reigned but seventy days? May we not be assured, that it was some college history; and related to a society of priests, whose office came in rotation; and who attended once in that [25] term? After all, that Africanus, or Manethon before him could do to make up what was wanting, yet many dynasties have scarce a name inserted. The seventh, eighth, [26] tenth,

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[24] Euseb. Chron. p. 14.

[25] The Cunocephali were said to die by piecemeal; and the whole body was extinct after seventy-two days. Ἑως δ' αν αι ἑβδομηκοντα και δυο πληρωθωσιν ἡμεραι, τοτε ὁλος αποθνησκει. Horapollo. l. 1. c. 14. p. 29. They were undoubtedly an order of priests, who were in waiting at some temple; and their term was completed in seventy-two, or rather in seventy, days. See of this work vol. ii. p. 20. note 14.

[26] In the ninth, one name only out of nineteen specified.

eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth, are quite anonymous: and in many places, where names have been inserted by Africanus, they are rejected by Eusebius, who came after him.

For these reasons, and from the authority of the Old Chronicle, I entirely set aside the reigns of all princes antecedent to the Auritæ, or Shepherds. They first reigned in Egypt, as the best histories shew. And however high the later Egyptians may have carried their antiquity, I cannot admit of any dynasty prior to the fifteenth, counting back from the last. Indeed we may infer, that the fifteenth was looked upon by all as the leading dynasty, before the true system was spoiled. And even afterwards, there seems to have been a tacit reference to it, as to a stated point, by which every thing else was to be determined. Both Manethon, and Africanus place the Auritæ, or Shepherds, in the fifteenth dynasty; but count from the first. Eusebius also places them in the fifteenth, if we count from the [27] last. From hence we may perceive, that which way so ever we may reckon, and however the accounts may have been impaired, the fifteenth was the object, by which they were originally determined. The words of Africanus

[27] It is to be observed, that Eusebius begins with what he styles the seventeenth, and ends with the thirty-first: but in the series the twenty-first is somehow omitted.

are very remarkable, when he speaks of the kings of this dynasty. [28] Πεντεδεκατη Ποιμενων. Ησαν δε Φοινικες ξενοι βασιλεις ς', οι και Μεμφιν εἱλον. οι και εν τῳ Σεθροϊτῃ νομῳ πολιν εκτισαν, αφ' ης ὁρμωμενοι Αιγυπτιες εχειρωσαντο. *The fifteenth is the dynasty of the Shepherds. These were foreign princes, styled Phœnices. They first built themselves a city in the Sethroïte (or rather* [29] *Sethite) region; from whence they made their invasion, and conquered all Egypt.* This author having mentioned these Shepherds, whom he calls Phœnices, adds a dynasty of thirty-two Hellenic Shepherds; and a third of forty-three Shepherds, who reigned collaterally with as many kings of Thebes. This is extraordinary, that they should correspond so exactly in number; but what is more strange, that they should reign the same number of years. [30] Ὁμου οι Ποιμενες και οι Θηβαιοι εβασιλευσαν ετη ρνα. *The Shepherd kings, and those of Thebes reigned the same number of years: which amount to one hundred and fifty one.* We see here two dynasties at different places, commencing at the same time, which correspond precisely in number of kings and in

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[28] Syncellus. p. 61.

[29] It was the province of Seth, called also Saït, to which the author alludes.

[30] Syncellus. p. 61.

number of years. And the sum of these years allows little more than three years and a half to the reign of each prince. For there are forty-three in each place; and reign but one hundred and fifty-one years; which is incredible. Both the Phœnician, and Hellenic Shepherds were certainly the same as those who made an inroad into Egypt, and took Memphis; and afterwards conquered the whole country. They are brought by Africanus in succession after the former; but were certainly the same, however diversified by titles, and increased in number. The years of their reigns are apparently a forgery. We may, I think, be assured, that Manethon and Africanus out of one dynasty have formed three; and have brought them in succession to one another. And this arose from their not knowing the antient titles of the persons; nor the history with which it was attended.

Eusebius saw this, and therefore struck out two of these dynasties, and brought the third downwards two degrees lower. By these means the dynasty of the shepherds is made the fifteenth upwards; which is the true place: and at this commences the history of Egypt. If then we take away the two supposititious dynasties of Manethon, which are rejected by Eusebius, the Shepherd dynasty, marked by him the fifteenth, will be the fifteenth from the bottom. And it

will be plain, that the series, from the Shepherds to the last Persic princes inclusive, consisted at first of fifteen dynasties only. The notion of any antecedent kings arose from a retrograde manner of counting among the Greeks, and from an error in consequence of it. In Eusebius the Shepherd dynasty is the fifteenth from the bottom: and if we discard the two spurious dynasties, which he has substituted in the room of the two inserted by Manethon, it will be found the fifteenth from the top, and accord every way. In short, it was, according to Manethon, the centre dynasty of twenty-nine. All from it inclusive downwards were genuine, but the fourteen above supposititious. They were superadded, as I before said, from an error in judgment, and a faulty way of computation.

As the mistake began with Manethon and the Hellenic Egyptians, it may be worth while to give a list of the dynasties as they stood before they were further corrupted by the Grecians in other parts.

THE

EGYPTIANS DYNASTIES

FROM THE DELUGE,

AS THEY ARE RECORDED BY MANETHON.

THE FIRST DYNASTY.

Next after the Demigods was Menes the Thinite, who was destroyed by a crocodile.
Athothis.
Cencenes.
Venephes.
Usaphædus.
Miebidus.
Semempsis.
Bienaches.

THE SECOND DYNASTY OF THINITES.

Boethus.
Kæachus.

Binothris.
Tlas.
Sethenes.
Chœres.
Nephercheres.

THE THIRD DYNASTY OF MEMPHITES.

Necherophes.
Tosorthrus.
Tyris.
Mesochris.
Soïphis.
Tosertasis.
Achis.
Siphouris.
Kerpheres.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY OF MEMPHITES.

Soris.
Suphis.
Suphis the Second.
Menchéres.
Ratæses.
Bicheres.
Sebercheres.
Thamphthis.
Sesocris, who was five cubits high, and three in circumference.
A ninth, unknown.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY OF ELEPHANTINE KINGS.

Usercheres.
Sephres.
Nephercheres.
Sisiris.
Cheres.
Rathuris.
Mercheres.
Tarcheres.
Obnos.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY OF MEMPHITES.

Othoes.
Phius.
Methusuphis.
Phiops.
Mentesuphis.
Nitocris.

THE SEVENTH DYNASTY.

Seventy Memphites, who reign seventy days.

THE EIGHTH DYNASTY.

Twenty-seven Memphites, who reign 146 years.

THE NINTH DYNASTY CONSISTS OF NINETEEN PRINCES OF HERACLEA.

Othoes, killed by a crocodile.
The eighteen others unknown.

THE TENTH DYNASTY.

Nineteen Heracleotics, who reign 185 years: their names and history unknown.

THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY.

Sixteen Diospolites, who reign 43 years.
Of these Amemenenes only specified.

THE TWELFTH DYNASTY; TWELVE DIOSPOLITES.

[31] Sesonchoris, the son of Amanemes.
Sesostris; the great monarch who conquered all the world; the next in order to [32] Osiris; his height was four cubits, three palms, and two digits.

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[31] He is called Sesonchosis by Syncellus in another list. He is said to have been the son of the former king. But all dynasties begin with kings of a new family.

[32] Ὁι ὑπο Αιγυπτιων μετα Οσιριν νομισθεντες. How then can he be a king in the twelfth dynasty? The account of his stature is from Eusebius.

Lachares.
[33] Ammeres.
Ammenemes.
Scemiophris.
The rest unknown.

THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.

Sixty Diospolites, who reign 184 years. No names, nor history, mentioned.

THE FOURTEENTH DYNASTY.

No mention made of it. Eusebius, however, supplies this vacancy with a Dynasty of 76 Xoites, who reign collectively 184 years; which is but two [34] years and five months a-piece.

THE FIFTEENTH [35] DYNASTY IS OF THE SHEPHERDS.

These were six foreign princes, styled Phœnices, who took Memphis, and built a city in the

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[33] These three seem not to have been in Manethon; but are supplied by Africanus.

[34] See Syncellus. p. 49. Some make the number of years 484, which amounts to about six years and seven months apiece. Neither account seems credible.

[35] This is, in reality, the first dynasty of Egyptian kings.

Sethroïte nome; from whence they made an irruption, and conquered all Egypt.

Saithes.
Beon.
Pachnan.
Staan.
Archles.
Aphobis.

At this period are introduced the two spurious dynasties by Manethon; or at least by [36] Africanus.

The first is of thirty-two Grecian Shepherd kings, who reign 518 years.

The second of forty-three Shepherd kings, who reign collaterally with just the same number of Diospolites; and also reign precisely the same number of years, which amount to 153.

These dynasties I omit; and, in consequence of it, call the next dynasty the sixteenth.

THE SIXTEENTH DYNASTY OF SIXTEEN DIOSPOLITES.

Amos.
Chebros.
Amenophthis.

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[36] It is not certain to whom this mistake is to be attributed; but I should judge that it was owing to Africanus.

Amersis.
Misaphris.
Misphragmuthosis.
Tuthmosis.
Amenophis.
Orus.
Acherres.
Rathos.
Chebres.
Acherres.
Armeses.
Rammesses.
Ammenoph.

THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY OF DIOSPOLITES.

Sethos.
Rapsaces.
Ammenephthes.
Rameses.
Ammesemnes.
Thuoris.
Alcandrus.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY OF TWELVE DIOSPOLITES.

No names nor history is given.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY OF SEVEN TANITES.

Smedes.

Phusenes.
Nephelcheres.
Amenophthis.
Osocor.
Pinaches.
Susennes.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY OF NINE BUBASTITES.

Sesonchis.
Osoroth.
The three next are not named.
Tacellothis.
The three next are not named.

THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY OF FOUR TANITES.

Petubates.
Osorcho.
Psammus.
Zeet.

THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY.

Bochoris the Saïte.

THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY OF THREE ETHIOPIANS.

Sabbacon.
Sevechus.
Tarchon.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY OF NINE SAÏTES.

Stephinates.
Nerepsos.
Nechao.
Psammitichus.
Nechao the Second.
Psammuthis.
Vaphris.
Amosis.
Psammacherites.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY OF EIGHT PERSIANS.

Cambyses.
Darius, the Son of Hystaspes.
Xerxes.
Artabanus.
Artaxerxes.
Xerxes.
Sogdianus.
Darius.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY.

Amyrtëus the Saïte.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DYNASTY OF FOUR MENDESIANS.

Nepherites.

Achoris.
Psammuthis.
Nephorotes.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DYNASTY OF THREE SEBENNYTES.

Nectanebes,
Teos.
Nectanebes.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DYNASTY OF THREE PERSIANS.

Ochus.
Arses.
Darius; the same who was conquered by Alexander.

Such was the state of the dynasties before they had suffered a second interpolation, by having two, which were spurious, inserted. These consisted of no less than seventy Grecian and other Shepherd kings, which are very justly set aside by Eusebius. This learned writer had done well if he had stopped short after that he had remedied the mistake in Africanus. But he had no suspicion that the previous dynasties were all spurious; I mean all those before the fifteenth. He was therefore fearful of making a gap in the list, and has supplied the place of those which he ex-

punged with some Diospolites, or [37] Thebans. But they should be all alike cancelled; for with the Shepherds, those Auritæ, and Demigods, the chronology of Egypt began. Therefore the seventeenth dynasty of Eusebius should have been marked the first, for it certainly was so esteemed by the Egyptians; and we ought for the future to read, Πρωτη Δυναστεια, Ποιμενες ησαν ξενοι βασιλεις, οι και Μεμφιν ειλον, κτλ. *The first dynasty consists of the Shepherd kings, who were foreigners, and took Memphis,* &c. To the truth of this the Old Chronicle bears witness; in which the first who reign are the Shepherds, under the title of Semidei and Auritæ. The number and titles of the dynasties do not turn out so precisely the [38] same as we find them in other accounts; for the Chronicle falls off towards the end, being most defective where we might expect it to be most perfect.

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[37] As the two dynasties of Manethon were brought after the Shepherds, Eusebius varies his disposition, and places his Diospolites above them; for he saw plainly that the place of the Shepherds was the fifteenth inclusive from the bottom. But by this interpolation he made it the seventeenth from the top. Whereas it was the centre dynasty equally removed from the extremes. It stood between the spurious and the genuine dynasties, and belonged to the latter.

[38] It has in some places been altered to serve a purpose; and probably by Syncellus.

It affords, however, though very concise, the great outlines of the Egyptian Chronology, and must be esteemed as an excellent guide, as far as it is capable of conducting us. I would not, therefore, do any thing to disparage its merit; yet, it is probably nothing more than a part of a yearly calendar, in which the celestial motions were calculated. The months and holidays specified, and the reigns of the kings prefixed. Among many others, there were two Hermetic books in common use among the Egyptians. The [39] first of these related to the energy of the heavens, to the powers of the planets, and the influence of the stars; and was properly a treatise concerning horoscopes and astrology; and was full of dark and mysterious learning. The other, which related to the real operations of nature, was of more use, but in less esteem, being nothing more than a common almanack, and so denominated. [40] Τατε εν τοις Αλμενιχιακοις (forte Αλμενιακοις) μερος τι βραχυτατον περιεχει των Ἑρμαϊκων διαταξεων· και τα περι ασερων, η φασεων, η κρυψεων, η Σεληνης αυξεσεων, η μειωσεων, εν τοις εσχατοις ειχε την παρ' Αιγυπτιοις αιτιολογιαν. *What,* says Chæremon, *is comprised in the Egyptian* ALMANACKS, *contains but*

[39] Jamblichus. Sect. 8. c. 4. p. 160.
[40] Ibid.

a small part of the Hermaïc institutions. The whole that relates to the rising and occultation of the stars, to the increase and decrease of the moon, was held in the least estimation. Porphyry likewise mentions the Egyptian Almanacks, and gives an account of their contents, which seem to be very curious. They consisted of a detail about the phases of the sun and moon, and of the rising and setting of the stars for the year; also of the aspects and influences of the planets, and what was from them portended: [41] και θεραπειαι παθων, *there was also some physical advice subjoined.* All this, says Porphyry, εν Αλμενιχιακοις φερεται, *is contained in the Egyptian* ALMANACKS. According to Iamblichus, these calendars were not held in so high repute as the other Hermetic writings. Be this as it may, our Chronicle is probably of this sort; and though formerly of no great esteem, on account of its being cheap and obvious, yet not at all for that reason of less authority. It began, as I have shewn, with the supposed reign of Hephaistus, and of the Sun; and afterwards of Cronus, and twelve other Gods. Syncellus imagines, that it misled Manethon by the immense number of years, of which these reigns are said to consist. The amount of the whole was no less

[41] Epistola ad Anebonem. p. 7.

than 36525 years. There is something particular in this number to which we must attend, as it has misled not only Manethon, but Syncellus: for they, with many more, have applied these numbers to the dynasties of Egypt; by which means the annals of the country have been carried to an unwarrantable height. Iamblichus, who had studied the Egyptian history very closely, takes notice of the same numbers, and applies them to the writings of Hermes. He introduces Chæremon, who is speaking of first principles and essences: [42] *all which*, says he, *Hermes transmitted in twenty thousand volumes, according to Seleucus, or rather, as Manethon has shewn, they were completed in thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five.* We may from hence perceive, how uncertain writers were about a circumstance of this consequence. What some applied to the duration of their monarchy, others supposed to be a number of books, the volumes written by Hermes. But the numbers were misapplied in both cases. They related indeed to volumes; but to volumes of another nature; to the revolutions of the sun:

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[42] Τας μεν ουν ὁλας Ἑρμης εν ταις δισμυριαις βιβλοις, ὡς Σελευκος ανεγραψατο· η ταις τρισμυριαις τε και ἑξακισχιλιαις, και πεντακοσιαις και εικοσι πεντε, ὡς Μανεθως ἱστορει, τελεως ανεδειξε. Iamblich. Sect. 8. c. 1. p. 157,

and were an artificial calculation. One kind of Egyptian year consisted of three hundred and sixty days; with the five επαγομεναι, which were sacred to five Deities, [43] Osiris, Aroueris, Typhon, Isis, and Nephthe. Some Deity, or title of a Deity, was affixed to every day in the calendar: hence they amounted to 365 in number. These were introduced into Greece, and, as was supposed, by Orpheus. To this Theophilus alludes, when he upbraids Orpheus with his polytheism. [44] τι ωφελησεν—Ορφεα οι τριακοσιοι εξηκοντα πεντε Θεοι; *What advantage did Orpheus ever find from his three hundred and sixty-five Gods?* This year of 365 days was termed the Sothic, from Sothis, the dog-star, at whose heliacal rising it was supposed to commence. But they had another year in Upper Egypt, which was heliacal, and styled the Theban. This consisted more accurately of three hundred sixty-five days, and six hours. [45] Πεντε δ' ημερας

[43] Plutarch. Isis et Osir. p. 355.

[44] Theoph. ad Autol. l. 3. p. 381.

[45] Diod. l. 1. p. 46.

Caius Cæsar—imitatus Ægyptios, solos divinarum rerum omnium conscios, ad numerum solis, qui diebus singulis tricenis sexaginta quinque et quadrante cursum conficit, annum dirigere contendit. Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 14. p. 178.

The Thebans understood την ιδ' ακριβεις αστρολογιαν. Diod. l. 1. p. 46.

και τεταρτον τοις δωδεκα μησιν επαγεσι. *They add,* says Diodorus, *to the twelve months, five days complete and one quarter.* It was used in many parts of Egypt: and the numbers spoken of above, related to a period in calculation; and was no historical account. They were the amount of days in a cycle of one hundred years: for if one year consists of three hundred sixty-five days, and a fourth part, they in one hundred years will amount to 36525, the number of which we treat. What therefore had belonged to an antient ephemeris, has by mistake been applied to historical computation: and days have been taken for years. This might well raise the Egyptian history to an unwarrantable height; and make it precede the creation by many ages. Some have thought to evade this difficulty by supposing that the years [46] Σεληναιοι, and [47] μηνιαιοι ενιαυτοι, *lunar and monthly*

(Ægyptii menses) tricenûm dierum omnes habent: eoque explicitis duodecim mensibus, id est, 360 diebus exactis, tunc inter Augustum et Septembrem reliquos quinque dies anno suo reddunt; adnectentes, quarto quoque anno exacto, intercalarem, qui ex quadrantibus confit. Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 15. p. 180.

[46] Euseb. Chron. p. 8. See Diodorus. l. 1. p. 22. κατα την της Σεληνης περιοδον αγεσθαι τον ενιαυτον.

[47] Οι γαρ παρ' αυτοις παλαιοτατοι Σεληναιους εφασκον ειναι, η μηνιαιους τους ενιαυτους εξ ἡμερων τριακοντα συνεγοντας. Οι δε μετα τουτους Ἡμιθεοι ὡρους εκαλουν τους ενιαυτους. Syncellus. p. 40. Apud Ægyptios pro annis menses haberi. Varro apud Lactant. l. 2. c. 12. p. 169.

years; which were in use in some parts of Egypt. Syncellus tries to solve it another way, by giving the dynasties from the sixteenth downward their proper number of years, and allowing the overplus to the Gods, and Demigods. But we have no occasion to have recourse to these helps: for the numbers of the real dynasties had nothing to do with this astronomical computation: and Iamblichus, who equally misapplies [48] them, shews, that they who treated of them differed in their opinion and were by no means [49] consistent.

The dynasty of those kings, who immediately succeeded the Shepherds, is termed the Cynic cycle: and the star Sirius, and many other things of eminence among the Egyptians, were styled Cynic; and supposed to have some reference to dogs. but the Cynic cycle, or more properly the [50] Cunic, was the Royal cycle, and related to a series of kings: and every thing so denominated is to be taken in that acceptation. Some of the

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[48] He supposes that they related to the books of Hermes: but the books of Hermes were but forty-two. Clemens mentions them, and specifies the contents of each. Strom. l. 6. p. 758.

[49] We learn from him, that what Syncellus in aftertimes applied to Chronology, was by Manethon thought to relate to the books of Hermes. Sect. 8. p. 157.

[50] Cun, Chon, Cohen, a king. See vol. i. Radicals.

books of Hermes are styled Γενικαι και [51] Κυρανικαι, *Genic and Curanic;* and from them it is said, that Apion, Manethon, and Panodorus obtained most of their knowledge. These seem to be both Egyptian terms, distorted by the Greeks; but of the same purport as that above. They were properly Chanic and Curanic books; and contained the history of the priests and kings of the country. Every Grecian term, which alludes to Egypt, and its history, is to be suspected. It is to be observed, that Manethon, and his copier Africanus, mention, that after the reigns of the Demigods, there was a succession of other persons; and he specifies those of the first dynasty. [52] Μετα νεκυας τους Ἡμιθεους πρωτη βασιλεια καταριθμειται, κτλ. But what can we make of these terms? *Post manes Semideos prima dynastia,* or *post cadavera Semideos prima dynastia,* &c. They cannot be made sense by any exposition. Eusebius saw that there was some mistake; and he has altered it by inserting a copulative. [53] Μετα νεκυας και τους Ἡμιθεους πρωτην

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[51] By Syncellus expressed Κυρανεις. Ὡσπερ εν τοις Γενικοις τω Ἑρμη, και εν ταις Κυρανισι βιβλοις ειρηται. p. 52. See vol. i. of this work. Radicals. Keren, Rex. Kuran, Heliacus. Hence κυριος, κοιρανος.

[52] Syncellus. p. 54.

[53] Euseb. Chron. p. 14. Μετα νεκυας και τους Ἡμιθεους. Euseb. apud Syncellum. p. 55.

δυναστειαν καταριθμεσι. But this does not seem to mend the matter. *Post manes, vel cadavera, et Semideos prima dynastia numeratur.* In another place Syncellus, besides the νεκυες Ἡμιθεοι, makes mention of [54] Θεων, και Ἡμιθεων, και νεκυων και Θνητων: *Deorum, et Semideorum, et cadaverum, et mortalium.* But what sense can be obtained from hence? is it not manifest, that there is some mistake in terms? I think, we may be assured, that what the Grecians have rendered νεκυς, *a dead body*, was Nechus, a King: and that by the words Μετα νεκυας Ἡμιθεες πρωτη βασιλεια we are to understand, post reges Semideos *after the reigns of the Demigods began the first Egyptian dynasty.* The title of Nechus was very [55] antient, and to be found in many nations. The king of Abyssinia is called Negus at this day. The purport of the history given will, I think, prove what I say. Syncellus mentions, that Manethon borrowed what he wrote from the books of Hermes; and that the first part of his work gave an account of the Gods, and Demigods; which last

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[54] Syncellus. p. 40.

[55] It seems to have been expressed Necho, Nechao, Nechus, Negus; and was probably the same as נגד, Nagud of the Hebrews, which signifies a Prince. It occurs in composition; and we read of Necepsus, Necherophes, kings of Egypt. It was a common title.

we know were mortal men, and reigned in [56] Egypt. These certainly were the first who had the title of Nechus: and it is inseparably found with them. Eusebius indeed and Syncellus take pains to disjoin them, and out of them would form a different set of persons. The former accordingly, through mistake, complains of the Egyptians for introducing such a strange set of personages. [57] Παρα τουτοις (Ἡμιθεοις) νεκυων και θνητων ἑτερων βασιλεων πολλην και φλυαρον συνειρασι μυθολογιαν: *Besides these Demigods, they have got together a tedious ill-grounded history of dead persons, and other mortals who reigned.* But the whole of this is a mistake of the true history: and I am persuaded, from the position of the terms, that what Eusebius alluded to should have been rendered Νεχων και ἑτερων βασιλεων. And in the reading above, μετα νεκυας Ἡμιθεες should have been expressed, according to the original, μετα Νεχους Ἡμιθεας, post reges Semideos, *after the Demigod kings, the first dynasty commenced.* But either the translators, or transcribers, did not know the meaning of the title Nechus, and have changed it to νεκυς, *a dead body.* The like is to

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[56] Ἡμιθεοι βασιλεις—και μετ' αυτους γενεαι ις Κυπικῳ κυκλῳ. Euseb. Chron. p. 7.

[57] Syncellus. p. 40.

be observed in the passage above quoted from Syncellus, where the three orders of princes are mentioned which occurred in the Egyptian lists: Θεων, και Ἡμιθεων, και νεκυων, και Ὀνητων. I make no doubt but, according to the true history, the reading was, Θεων, και Ἡμιθεων, και Νεχων Ὀνητων: *Gods, and Demigods, and kings who were mortals.* These mortal kings are mentioned in contradistinction to the Gods and Demigods, though the latter were equally men, but were still esteemed a superior order of beings. Eusebius is very severe upon the Egyptian annals, as being full of forgeries. But in this I must, in some degree, dissent from this very learned author. For, I believe that the history of Egypt would have been found far more consistent than is imagined, if it had never been perverted by those who borrowed from it. The Grecians ruined a fine system, by blending what related to astronomy with chronology, and confounding theology with [58] history: by not distinguishing between Gods and men; between reigns of kings, and revolutions in the heavens. The kings of Egypt had many names and titles. [59] Διωνυμοι, και τριωνυμοι

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[58] Both Eusebius and Syncellus failed by trying to adapt foreign occurrences to Grecian mythology.

[59] Syncellus p. 63.

πολλαχῦ των Αιγυπτιων οἱ Βασιλεις ευρηνται. *The princes of the country have often two, and often three names.* The Deities had still a greater variety: and I have before mentioned a statue of Isis, inscribed, [60] Isidi Myrionymæ, *to Isis with a thousand names.* These names and titles have been branched out into persons, and inserted in the lists of the real monarchs. Hence we find Menes, the Lunar God, with the hippopotamus stand foremost, and Osiris and Orus nearly in the same position. I have mentioned of Osiris, that he was exposed in an ark, and for a long time in a state of death. The like is said of Orus, whom [61] Isis found floating upon the waters: also of Adonis, and Thamuz, who returned to light after the expiration of a year. We have the same history concerning Talus, or Tulus, who succeeded Orus. He is by some called Thoulus; and is said to have had a renewal of life, and to have recovered, when Cybele was in labour.

[62] Ψυχη δ' εις δεμας ηλθε το δευτερον, ενδομυχῳ τε
Ψυχρον αοσσητηρι δεμας θερμαινετο πυρσῳ—
Και Κυβελη κεχαρακτο νεητοκος.

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[60] Gruter. p. 83. n. 11.

[61] Plutarch. Isis et Osir. p. 357.

[62] Nonnus. l. 25. p. 674. Ταλως· ὁ ἡλιος. Hesych. Ταλαιος· ὁ Ζευς εν Κρητῃ. Ibid.

Lastly, it is said of [63] Rhameses, whom Herodotus calls Rhampsinitus, that he descended to the mansions of death; and, after some stay, returned to light. The anniversary of his return was held sacred, and observed as a festival by the Egyptians. I mention these things to shew, that the whole is one and the same history; and that all these names are titles of the same person. They have, however, been otherwise esteemed: and we find them acordingly inserted in the lists of kings; by which means the chronology of Egypt has been embarrassed greatly.

Having mentioned Rhameses, and his descent to Hades, I cannot help adding a short piece of history concerning him in that situation, in order to give another instance of Grecian sophistry, and abuse of terms. It is well known, that under the character of Damater the antients alluded to the ark, and to the supposed Genius which presided over it. This Goddess is said to have received and sheltered Rhameses in the shades below: and it is further mentioned, [64] συγκυβευειν

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[63] Ελεγον τουτον τον βασιλεα ζωον καταβηναι κατω εις τον ὁι Ἑλληνες αϊδην νομιζουσι επας. Herodotus. l. 2. c. 122. He is said to have ruled over the whole earth, like Zeuth, Osiris, Orus, and others. Hermapion calls him Rhamestes, Ραμεστης. Marcellinus. l. 17. p. 126. See Tacitus. Annal. l. 2. c. 60.

[64] Herod. l. 2. c. 122.

τῃ Δημητρι, *that he played at dice* with the Goddess. The persons in the ark were represented as in a state of death, and the ark itself was looked upon as a bier or coffin, and as such commemorated in all the rites of Osiris. A coffin, or bier, seems by the Egyptians to have been styled Cuban; which term the Greeks retained, and expressed Cubas. Hence Κυβας· σορος. *Cubas*, says Hesychius, *signifies a bier.* A ship also was called Cuba, and [65] Cubeia. But at the same time that Cubas, Cuba, and Cubea, had a reference to an ark or ship, Κυβος, Cubus, signified a die; and Κυβεια, Cubea, had also a relation to a game. In consequence of this, the Grecians have taken the terms in a wrong acceptation; and, instead of saying, that Rhameses, during his state of confinement, was with Damater in Cuba, a ship, or ark, they have turned the whole into pastime, and made him play with her at dice. The like story is told by [66] Plutarch of Hermes: whence

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[65] Καβειος, ιος· Παφιοι. Hesych. It should be ιως. Cubeam maximam, triremis instar, pulcherrimam, atque ornatissimam. Cicero. Verrina 5. 17. From hence Apollo, the prophetic God, was called Cabæus.

Ὁ κισσευς Απολλων, ὁ Καβαιος, ὁ μαντις. Æschylus apud Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 18. p. 200.

[66] Isis et Osiris. p. 355.

we may infer, that one of that name, for there were several, was the same person as Rhameses.

It is then, I think, manifest, that the Cuthite Shepherds composed the first dynasty of kings in Egypt: and that the Israelitish Shepherds succeeded them not long after their departure. Most of the Fathers are misled by Josephus; who supposes, in opposition to the best authority, that the whole history related to one body of people only, and that those were his ancestors. But the purport of the history given, and the very dynasties, which they have transmitted, prove the contrary. Yet they persist; and accordingly place the Exodus in the reign of [67] Amos, or Amosis; which was many years prior to the departure of the first shepherds, as will be shewn; and consequently contrary to the true order of history. Of these Shepherds we have very circumstantial accounts; though their dynasty is transmitted to us by different writers in a very confused manner. The persons, who have preserved it, are Manethon, Africanus, Eusebius, Syncellus, and Theophilus of Antioch. There is to be found a very great difference subsisting between these writers, of which at present I shall say nothing.

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[67] Οκτω και δεκατη δυναστεια Διοσπολιτων βασιλεων ις'. ων πρωτος Αμως, εφ' ου Μωσης εξηλθεν εξ Αιγυπτου. Syncellus. p. 62.

Let it suffice, that we have from them transmitted to us a dynasty of the Shepherds; the fifteenth of Africanus; and the seventeenth of Eusebius, which is likewise the fifteenth, if we reckon from the bottom. The next, which is by them all introduced as the eighteenth, begins in this manner:

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY OF SIXTEEN DIOSPOLITE, OR THEBAN, [68] KINGS.

Amosis.
Chebron.
Amenophis.
Amersis.
Mephres.
Misphragmuthosis.
[69] Amosis or Tethmosis.
Amenophis.
Horus.
Acherres.
Rathos.
Chebres.
Acherres.

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[68] The names are in a great measure taken from Africanus in Syncellus. p. 72. See also Theoph. ad Autolyc. l. 3. p. 392.

[69] So he is called by Apion, and Ptolemy Mendesius: likewise by Tatianus Assyrius, p. 273. Justin. Martyr. Cohort. p. 13. Clemens Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 378. See Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 10. p. 490. 493. 497.

Armeses.
Rhameses.
Amenophis.

The account given by Manethon, concerning the expulsion of the Shepherds is this. After they had for many years kept the Egyptians in subjection; the people of Upper Egypt rose against them, and, under the direction of their kings, carried on a long and bloody war. At last Halisphragmuthosis, more generally called Misphragmuthosis, surrounded them in their district, named Avaris, which they had fortified. Here they were besieged a long time: when they at last came to terms with [70] Amosis, the son of the former king. After some conferences, they agreed to entirely evacuate the country, if they might be permitted to go off unmolested. He accordingly gave them his promise, and they all departed. When they were gone, he demolished the [71] fortification which they had raised; that it might not any more be a receptacle to disaffected, or rebellious people. From this history we learn, that Misphragmuthosis, and his son Amosis reigned in the time of the first shepherds. Therefore the reign of the for-

[70] Tethmosis of Africanus.

[71] Κατεσκαψε την Αναξιν Αμωσις. Tatianus Assyrius, from Ptolemy Mendesius. p. 273. See also Clemens Alex. l. 1. p. 378. and note 7.

mer, and some years of the latter, should be placed in collateral order, as being plainly synchronical. The like is to be observed of all the previous kings of that dynasty. They were the princes who first made head against the Shepherds; and carried on the war mentioned above, which was put an end to by Amosis. They were consequently synchronical. But by this not having been observed, they are brought after, and some of them are sunk above an hundred years lower than they should be: and this in contradiction to the very evidence by these writers produced. For they allow, that Amosis ruined the place called Avaris, into which his father Misphragmuthosis had before driven the Shepherds: and it is expressly said, that it was afterwards given by Amenophis to the other Shepherds, who succeeded. Nothing can be more determinate than the words of Manethon; [72] την των Ποιμενων ερημωθεισαν πολιν Αυαριν συνεχωρησε. *He gave them the city Avaris, which had been vacated by the former Shepherds.* We find that the history lies within a short compass. The only thing to be inquired into, is the identity of the persons spoken of. As Misphragmuthosis defeated the Shepherds, and drove them into Avaris, do we find a king of

[72] Manethon apud Josephum contra Ap. l. 1. p. 460.

Egypt so called? There is a king of that name: and if we look into the list, we find him the sixth in the eighteenth [73] dynasty, which consists of Theban, or Diospolite kings. His son Amosis is said to have concluded the whole affair, and finally to have expelled them. Does any prince occur of the name of Amosis or Tethmosis, in this order? A person of this name appears in the same dynasty; and he is successor to the former, in conformity to the history given. It is said, that Amenophis gave the district, which the former Shepherds vacated, to the latter. As these succeeded the others very soon, is there any king of the name of Amenophis, whose reign coincides with these circumstances? Such a one very happily occurs: and he comes the very next in succession to the prince, who sent the first Shepherds away. These things surely are very plain. Why then are these kings brought so much lower than the æra allotted to the Israelites? and why have the most learned of the Fathers adjudged the departure of that people to the time of the first king of this Theban dynasty? This prince is said to have lived [74] twenty-five years after they were re-

[73] 6. Misphragmuthosis.
7. Amosis, sive Tethmosis.
8. Amenophis.

[74] Theoph. ad Autolyc. l. 3. p. 392.

tired. From hence we may be assured, that this could not be the person, with whom Moses was concerned; for that king was drowned in the Red Sea. Theophilus calls this king Amasis; and speaking of these twenty-five years, says, that he reigned that term, [75] μετα την εκβολην τ λαυ; *after he had expelled the people spoken of.* This can never be made applicable to the Israelites. It cannot with any propriety be said of them that they were expelled. They were detained against their will: and when they were suffered at last to depart, the Egyptians pursued after them, in order to bring them [76] back. The history certainly relates to the Cuthite Shepherds, who stood their ground till they were actually driven away. So far, I believe, is true; that the Israelites left the country in the reign of Amasis, who was more properly called Ramases, and Ramases the son of Sethon: but this was a long time after the reign of Amos, or Amosis, who is placed at the head of the Theban dynasty.

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[75] Ibid.

[76] It may be said, that the Egyptians pressed the Israelites to depart: *And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land,* &c. Exodus. c. 12. v. 33. But this does not come up to the real and hostile expulsion, which is mentioned by the Egyptian historians; so that the people thus forcibly expelled could not possibly be the Israelites.

If these great outlines in history are so clear, as I presume them to be, it may be asked how it was possible for such mistakes in chronology to have arisen? What reason can be given for this wilful inconsistency? I answer with regret, that it was owing to an ill-grounded zeal in the Fathers. They laid too much stress upon the antiquity of Moses, and laboured much to make him prior to every thing in [77] Greece. It had been unluckily said by Apion, that the person who ruined Avaris was contemporary with [78] Inachus of Argos. If this person were before Moses, then Inachus must also have been before him, which was not to be allowed. Hence names have been changed, and history has been perverted, to prevent this alarming circumstance. Accordingly Tatianus, having gone through a long series of argument to this purpose, concludes with some triumph: [79] Ουκουν πεφηνε Μωϋσης, απο γε των προειρημενων, πρεσβυτερος Ἡρωων παλαιων, πολεων, δαιμονων. *Therefore it is manifest, from what has been said, that Moses was*

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[77] See Clemens, Tatianus, and the authors above quoted. Africanus apud Euseb. Præp. l. 10. p. 490. Justin Martyr. Cohort. p. 13. Theophilus. l. 3. p. 393.

[78] Syncellus. p. 62. p. 68.

[79] Tatianus. p. 274. See Justin Martyr. Cohort. p. 13. Theophilus supposes the Exodus to have been a thousand years before the war of Troy. l. 3. p. 393.

prior to the heroes, to the cities, and to the Deities (of Greece). But truth does not depend upon priority; and the Fathers lost sight of this blessing through a wrong zeal to obtain it. They, to be sure, might plead some authority for their notions; but it was not of such weight as to have influenced men of their learning. Manethon does most certainly say, at least as he is quoted, that the Shepherds, who were expelled, betook themselves to Jerusalem. [80] Μετα το εξελθειν εξ Αιγυπτου τον λαον των Ποιμενων εις Ἱεροσολυμα, ὁ εκβαλων αυτους εξ Αιγυπτου βασιλευς Τεθμωσις εβασιλευσε μετα ταυτα ετη κε' μηνας τεσσαρας. *After the Shepherds had departed from Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis, who drove them away, lived twenty-five years and four months.* This one circumstance about Jerusalem has contributed beyond measure to confirm the Fathers in their mistakes. Josephus, and those who have blindly followed this authority, did not consider that the Israelites were not driven out; that they did not go to Jerusalem; and that the king, in whose reign they departed, did not survive the event: for he perished, as has been said before. Add to this, that the same writer, Manethon, plainly shews that the Israelites

[80] Josephus contra Ap. l. 1. p. 416.

did not come into Egypt till the reign of [80] Amenophis, who was many years later; so that this history could not relate to them. He gave them the very district which the former Shepherds had deserted. The whole account of the first Shepherds is inconsistent with the history of the latter. The fathers often quote Apion, Ptolemy Mendesius, and Manethon, to prove that the Israelites were expelled Egypt by Amosis, or Amasis, and speak of Moses as contemporary with that king whom they place at the head of the Theban dynasty. Thus Justin Martyr appeals to the first of those writers for the truth of this assertion. [81] Κατα Ιναχον Αργες βασιλεα, Αμασιδος Αιγυπτιων βασιλευοντος, αποςηναι Ιυδαιυς, ὡν ἡγεισθαι Μωϋσεα. According to Apion, *in the time of Inachus of Argos, and in the reign of Amasis of Egypt, the Israelites left that country under the conduct of Moses.* He quotes for the same purpose Polemo, and Ptolemy Mendesius. But the history could never

[80] Josephus contra Ap. 61. p. 460. The coming of the Israelites is plainly described under the return of the first Shepherds. Many have supposed the two bodies of people to have been one and the same. They have therefore mistaken the arrival of the latter for a return of the former; and have, in consequence of it, much confounded their history: but the truth may be plainly discerned.

[81] Cohort. p. 13.

be as we find it here represented. We have a long account of the Shepherds in Manethon, who says not a word of what is here mentioned of the Israelites, but contradicts it in every point. Apion likewise expressly tells us, that Amosis was the person who ruined Avaris, which, we know, was afterwards given to the later Shepherds. And so far is he from referring the departure of this people to the reign of the first Diospolite king in the eighteenth dynasty, that he supposes the Exodus to have been in the [82] seventh Olympiad, which was many centuries later.

The Fathers do not always quote precisely, but often put their own inferences for the words of their author. Ptolemy, Apion, and others mention, that a people called Shepherds were driven out of Egypt in the reign of Amosis. These Shepherds, say Theophilus and Tatianus, were the Jews: therefore the Jews left the country in the reign of that king; and as they were conducted by Moses, it is plain, say they, from Apion, that Moses was contemporary with [83] Amo-

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[82] Josephus contra Ap. l. 1. p. 469.

[83] The same history is quoted from different writers with a similarity of language, which is very suspicious. Thus Ctesias is by Clemens made to give the same account as we have had from the writers of Egypt. Ἡ Μωσεως κατα Αμωσιν του Αιγυπτιου, και κατα Ἰναχον του Αργειου, εξ Αιγυπτου κινησις. Strom. l. 1. p. 379. It is

sis. In like manner Josephus tells us, that, according to Manethon, the Jews were driven out of Egypt in the reign of king [84] Tethmosis. Now the passage to which he alludes is preserved in his own works at [85] large; and not a syllable does Manethon there say about either Jew or Israelite. He gives quite a different history. And though his account is very incorrect, yet so much we may plainly learn from him, that the Israelites came into Egypt in the time of Amenophis, the eighth king of the Diospolite dynasty; and they likewise left the country in the reign of Amenophis, sometimes rendered by mistake Amenophthes. This was not the same prince, but one long after, whose son was Sethon, called also Ramases Sethon, from Rampses (the same as Ramases), the father of [86] Amenophis.

If then we recapitulate the principal facts which

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very extraordinary that so many foreign writers should uniformly refer Moses to Inachus, as it is a point of little consequence to any but those who wanted to enhance the antiquity of the former. To the same purpose Apion, Polemo, and Ptolemy Mendesius are quoted. Yet, I am persuaded that the antient Egyptians knew nothing of Argos, nor of Inachus, the supposed king of it. See Justin Martyr. Cohort. p. 13.

[84] Contra Ap. l. 1. p. 469.

[85] Ibid. p. 444.

[86] Ibid. p. 461.

relate to the antient history of Egypt, we shall find that they happened in the following order. After that the Mizraïm had been for some time settled in that country, they were invaded by the Shepherds, those Cuthites of Babylonia. These held the region in subjection, and behaved with much cruelty to the natives. They were at last opposed, and by king Misphragmuthosis reduced to great straits, and besieged in their strong hold Avaris. His son Amosis, the Tethmosis of Africanus, pressed them so closely that they were glad to come to terms of composition. He agreed to let them go unmolested if they would immediately leave the country. Upon this the whole body retired, after having been in possession of Egypt above two hundred and fifty years. To Amosis succeeded Amenophis; who is said to have given their deserted town and district to the Israelitish Shepherds. These came into the country from Canaan, about thirty years after the exit of the [87] former. They resided here two hundred and fifteen years, and then they too re-

[87] This I have shewn before. The Old Chronicle makes the residence of the first shepherds in Egypt to have been but 217 years: but I believe that it is a mistake for 271. This would make the interval 25 years between the departure of the first, and arrival of the second Shepherds.

tired in the reign of Amenophis, the son of Rampses, and father of Ramases Sethon. Such is the history which is given by [89] Manethon, Apion, and other writers. That we may know in what degree this accords with the dynasty of princes transmitted by Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus, it will be proper to lay before the reader a list of the first kings, as we find it exhibited by those writers. I have shewn, that the first dynasty consisted of the Demigods, or Auritæ; called also the Hellenic and Phœnician Shepherds, who took Memphis. The next dynasty was of Diospolite or Theban princes, who were of the Mizraïm race, and expelled the former. And as the person who drove them away was Amosis, or Tethmosis, the son of Misphragmuthosis, that king, and all above him, should be placed collateral with the Shepherd dynasty, as being synchronical. Indeed there is reason to think, that most, if not all, of the five, which precede are spurious, being for the most part the same names placed here by [90] anticipation, and having the same history repeated. I shall there-

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[89] Apud Josephum cont. Ap. l. 1. p. 461.

[90] Halisphragmuthosis, Tethmosis, Amenophis, have been placed at the head of the dynasty, to raise the antiquity of Moses. The same names occur again in the same list, and nearly in the

fore begin with Misphragmuthosis, as with him the true Egyptian history commences; but will first give the dynasty of the Shepherds.

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same order, below. What was truly said of the first Shepherds, and their expulsion under Tethmosis, and Amosis, has been anticipated, and attributed to the Israelitish Shepherds; and the name of the same king has been repeated, and placed at the top of the list.

THE FIRST DYNASTY OF KINGS IN EGYPT, CONSISTING OF HELLENIC AND PHENICIAN SHEPHERDS, WHO WERE FOREIGNERS, AND TOOK MEMPHIS.

Manethon.		Africanus.	
Salatis	19	Saïtes	19
[91] Beon	44 m. 7	Byon	44
Apachnas	36 m. 7	Pachnas	61
Apophis	61	Staan	50
Ianias	50 m. 1	Archles	49
Assis	49 m. 2	Aphobis	61
	259		284

Eusebius.		Syncellus.	
Saïtes	19	Silites	19
Anon	43	Bæon	44
		Apachnas	36
Aphophis	14	Aphophis	61
Anchles	30	Sethos	50
		Kertus	29
		Aseth	20
	106		259

[91] Many of these mistakes, with which these lists abound, are owing to the ignorance of transcribers and editors: of which we have a flagrant instance before us. After Salatis, in three copies, we find the Shepherd king called Bæon and Bnon. But this is a manifest blunder. There was a second king in the dynasty; but the chronologers could not arrive at his name. They therefore put him down B. ανων: *the second king is anonymous:* and so it occurs in Eusebius. But in the other lists it is altered to Βνων, Βαιων, Βνων; and has passed for a proper name. See Marsham's Chron. p. 100. The mistake is as old as Josephus.

THE SECOND DYNASTY, CONSISTING OF DIOSPOLITE, OR THEBAN KINGS.

According to [92] Josephus from Manethon.		According to [95] Africanus in Syncellus.	
Halisphragmuthosis	25 m. 10	Misphragmuthosis	26
Thmosis	9 m. 8	Tethmosis	9
Amenophis	30 m. 10	Amenophis	31
Orus	36 m. 5	Orus	37
Acencres	12 m. 1	Acherres	32
Rathotis	9	Rathos	6
Achencheres	12 m. 5	Chebres	12
Achencheres	12 m. 3	Acherres	12
Armaïs	4 m. 1	Armeses	5
Rhamesses	1 m. 4	Rhammeses	1
Rhamesses Miamun	66 m. 2	Amenoph	19
Amenophis	19 m. 6	THIRD DYNASTY.	
[93] S thon Ægyptus	59	Sethos	51
Rampses	66	Rapsaces	61
Amenophis	00	Ammenephthes	20
[94] Ramesses Sethon	00	Rhameses	00

[92] Contra Ap. l. 1. p. 446.
[93] Ibid. p. 460.
[94] Ibid. p. 461.
[95] Syncellus. p. 72.

According to [96] Eusebius.		According to [97] Theophilus Antiochenus.	
Misphragmuthosis	26	Methramnmuthosis	20 m. 10
Tuthmosis	9	Tythmosis	9 m. 8
Amenophis	31	Damphenophis	30 m. 10
Orus	36	Orus	35 m. 5
Achencerses	12	Ori Filia	10 m. 3
Athoris	39	Mercheres	12 m. 3
Chencheres	16	Armaïs	30 m. 1
Acherres	8	Messes	6 m. 2
Cherres	15	Rhamesses	1 m. 4
Armaïs	5	Amenophis	19 m. 6
Ammeses	68	Thœssus et Rhamessus	10
Menophis	40	Sethos Ægyptus	
THIRD DYNASTY.			
Sethos	55		
Rapses	66		
Ammenophthis	40		
Ammenemmes	26		

Some of these names, by collating, may be corrected; and each of the authors quoted will contribute towards it. At present each specimen abounds with mistakes. Tythmosis, Tethmosis and Thmosis, seem to have been originally Thamosis; probably the same as Thamus, and Thamuz. Menophis, Amenephthes, and Amenoph-

[96] Euseb. Chron. p. 16.

[97] Theophilus ad Autol. l. 3. p. 392.

thes are undoubtedly mistakes for [98] Amenophis, as it is rendered in Josephus. Rathos, and Rathotis, are for Rathor, and Rathoris: and those again are for Athor and Athoris. Chebres of Africanus should be altered to Cheres, the same as Sol. The whole list is made up of divine titles. Cheres is sometimes compounded Chan-Cheres, and expressed Achancheres: all of which are the same title. Messes, Ammeses, and Armeses, are all mistakes for Rameses, either abridged, or transposed, as may be shewn from Theophilus. Armais, and Armes, seem to be the same as Hermes. Raphaces, and Rapses are by Josephus more correctly rendered Rampses. Thœsus in Theophilus is a transposition, and variation of Sethos, the same as Sethon, whom he very properly, in another place, styles Sethos Egyptus. As these names may, I think, to a degree of certainty be amended, I shall endeavour to give a more correct list, as I have presumed to form it upon collation.

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[98] To say the truth, I believe that Menophis is the original name. It was a divine title, like all the others, and assumed by kings. It was properly Menophis, sive Menes Pytho, vel Menes Ophion: and it originally was a title given to the person commemorated under the character of Noë Agathodæmon, changed by the Greeks to Neo. See vol. iii. plate xvi. p. 182.

1. Misphragmuthosis.
2. Thamosis; Amosis of Clemens and others.
3. Amenophis.
4. Orus.
5. Chan-Cheres.
6. Athoris.
7. Chancheres 2.
8. Chancheres 3.
9. Armes, or Hermes.
10. Rhameses.
11. Amenophis.

DYNASTY THE THIRD.

1. Sethos Ægyptus.
2. Rampses, the same as Rhameses.
3. Amenophis.
4. Rhamases Sethon.

But though this list may be in some degree corrected, yet we may still perceive a great difference subsisting among the writers above, and particularly in the numbers. The only method of proceeding in these cases, where we cannot obtain the precision, we could wish, is to rest contented with the evidence which is afforded, and to see if it be at all material. We are told, that Misphragmuthosis was the person who gave the

Shepherds the first notable defeat; and we accordingly find him in the subsequent dynasty to the Shepherds. Next to him stands his son Themosis, who drove them out of the country. The Israelites came soon after, in the reign of Amenophis, who gave them a place of habitation. In conformity to this, we find that Amenophis comes in the list immediately after Themosis, or Tethmosis; all which is perfectly consonant to the history before given. This people resided in the country about two hundred and fifteen years, and departed in the reign of Amenophis, the father of Rameses [99] Sethon. We find that the eleventh king is Amenophis, and he is succeeded by Sethos; by which one might be induced to think that this was the person alluded to. But, upon due examination, we shall find, that this could not be the king mentioned, for he was not the father of the person who succeeded him. We

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[99] Τον υιον Σεθων τον και Ῥαμισσην απο Ῥαμψεως τυ πατρος (τυ Αμενωφιος) ονομασμενον. Josephus contra Ap. l. 1. p. 460. Rhamesses seems to have reigned with his father. He is called Rhameses, and Rhamasis, and is undoubtedly the person alluded to by Clemens and others, under the name of Amasis; in whose time they suppose the Exodus to have been. See Strom. l. 1. p. 378. Of Rhamasis they formed Amasis, which they changed to Amosis, and thus raised the æra of Moses to an unwarrantable height.

find, in Eusebius and Syncellus, that at Sethos Ægyptus a new dynasty commenced, which is properly the third. Josephus takes no notice of this circumstance; yet he gives a true list of the first kings, who are

[100] Sethon Ægyptus.
Rampses.
Amenophis.
Ramases Sethon.

The third of these is the Amenophis spoken of by Manethon, in whose reign the Israelites left Egypt; for he is the father of the Ramases, called Sethon. In respect to the numbers annexed to each king's name, they are so varied by different writers, that we cannot repose any confidence in them. I therefore set them quite aside; and only consider the numbers of the kings who reigned from Amenophis the first to Amenophis the father of Rhamases. I find them to amount to twelve inclusive. If then we allow twenty years to each king, the reigns will amount to two hundred and forty years. And as we do not know the year of the first Amenophis, in which the Israelites entered Egypt, nor the year of the latter king, in

[100] Sethon Ægyptus. Cont. Ap. l. 1. c. 460.

which they departed; if we make proper allowance for this, the sum of the years will correspond very well with the sojourning of the people in that country, which was two hundred and fifteen years.

Manethon tells us, as I have observed before, that the Amenophis, in whose reign the Israelites left Egypt, preceded Rhamases Sethon. In his reign they were led off, under *the* [1] *conduct of Moses.* It is to be observed that Manethon styles this king *the father of Sethon.* This is the reason why I do not think that the former Amenophis was the person spoken of. Sethon Ægyptus, who succeeded that Amenophis, was of another dynasty, consequently of another family, and could not be his son; for new dynasties commence with new families. This, I imagine, was the prince, who is alluded to in Scripture, where it is said that [2] *there arose up a new king over Egypt, who knew not Joseph.* He was not acquainted with the merits of Joseph, because he was the first king

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[1] Manethon has confounded the history of Joseph and Moses, of which I have before taken notice. He allows that a person called Moses led off the Israelites, but supposes that this was a secondary name. Μετετεθη τ'ουνομα, και προσηγορευθη Μωϋσης. Ibid.

[2] Exodus. c. 1. v. 8.

of a new dynasty, and of a different family from those who had been under such immediate obligations to the Patriarch. In the antient histories there is a distinction made between the Mizraïm and the Egyptians; and the former were looked upon as prior in time. Thus, in the Old Chronicle, the reigns of the kings are divided into three classes: the first of which is of the Auritæ; the next of the Mizraïm; and the third of the Egyptians. Here is a difference expressed between the two latter, and it may not be easy to determine wherein it consisted. Those so particularly styled Egyptians were probably of Lower [3] Egypt, and of a more mixed family than those Mizraïm, who were of the superior region, called Saït. Of these the Cunic, or Royal, Cycle consisted, and the supremacy was in their family for some generations. But a change of government ensued, and the chief rule came into the hands of the Αιγυπτιοι, Egyptians, of whom [4] Se-

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[3] The region of Delta seems to be particularly denoted under the name of Ægyptus. The words θαλασσα γαρ ην Αιγυπτος, relate only to Lower Egypt. In like manner Αιγυπτος δωρον τȣ ποταμȣ, Αιγυπτος ποταμοχωστος, expressions used by Herodotus and Djodorus, have a like reference to the same part of the country, and to that only.

[4] Ὁ μεν Σεθωσις εκαλειτο Αιγυπτος. Josephus cont. Ap. l. 1. p. 447.

thon, called Ægyptus, was the first monarch. This new dynasty was the third; but according to the common way of computation, it was reputed the nineteenth. Hence, in the Latin version of the Eusebian Chronicle, the author tells us very truly, [5] Ægyptii per nonam decimam dynastiam *suo imperatore* uti cœperunt; quorum primus *Sethos*. We find that the genuine race of Egyptian monarchs did not commence before Sethon. He was of a different family from the former, and undoubtedly the person styled a *new king;* who was not acquainted with the merits of Joseph, and who unjustly enslaved the children of Israel. To him succeeded Rampses; and next after him came that Amenophis, in whose reign I have shewn that the Exodus happened under Moses.

I wish that I could proceed, and with any degreee of accuracy settle the dynasties downward; that the whole of the Egyptian chronology might be established. But as this is a work which will require much time, and more sagacity than I can pretend to, I shall leave it to be executed by others. I flatter myself, that it may one day be

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Αιγυπτος δε ἡ χωρα εκληθη απο τυ Βασιλεως Σεθως· το γαρ Σεθως, φασιν, Αιγυπτος καλειται. Theophil. ad Autol. l. 3. p. 392.

[5] Euseb. Chron. Lat. p. 17.

effected; though there will certainly be great difficulty in the execution. The Exodus is supposed to have happened 1494 years before the birth of Christ. As this event has been mistaken for the retreat of the first Shepherds, and adjudged to the reign of the first Amosis, it has been carried upwards too high by two hundred and fifty years. In consequence of this, the writers, who have been guilty of this anticipation, have taken pains to remedy the mistake, which they found must ensue in chronological computation. But this was healing one evil by introducing a greater. They saw from their commencing so high, that the years downwards were too many for their purpose. They have therefore, as we have reason to fear, omitted some kings; and altered the years of others; in order that the æra of Amosis may be brought within a proper distance, and accord with the year of Christ. By means of these changes the kings of Africanus differ from those of Eusebius; and the years of their reigns still vary more. Syncellus has formed a list of his own: upon what authority I know not; wherein there are still greater variations: so that there sometimes occur three or four princes in a suite, of which there are no traces in the foregoing writers. Thus every one has endeavoured to adapt the chronology of Egypt to his own prejudices, which has introduced infinite confusion

Of this Sir John Marsham very justly complains. [6] His modis luculentissimæ Ægypti antiquitates, κατα συγολην και διαγολην κατα προθεσιν και αφαιρεσιν miserè vexatæ, spissis involutæ sunt tenebris; ab ipsis temporum interpretibus; qui omnia susque deque permiscuerunt. Upon Syncellus he passes a severe censure. [7] Reges comminiscitur, qui neque apud Eusebium sunt, neque Africanum: annosque et successiones mutilat, vel extendit, prout ipsi visum est, magnâ nominum, maximâ numerorum interpolatione. It must be confessed, that there is too much truth in this allegation; though we are in other respects greatly indebted to this learned chronologer. The person, to whom we are most obliged, is Eusebius: for he went very deep in his researches; and has transmitted to us a noble collection of historical records, which without him had been buried in oblivion. But even Eusebius had his prejudices, and has tried to adapt the history of Egypt to some preconceived opinions. Hence he laboured to enhance the antiquity of Moses: and not considering that the Shepherd kings were the first who reigned in Egypt, he has made it his business to authenticate sixteen antecedent dynasties, which

[6] Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 7.

[7] Ibid.

never existed. Hence the annals of this country have been carried up higher than the æra of [s] creation; and have afforded embarrassment to men of the greatest learning. They have likewise afforded handle to ill disposed persons to arraign the credibility of the Mosaic history; and to call in question the authenticity of the Scriptures in general. Some have had suspicions, that these dynasties were not genuine; and would gladly have set them aside. But suspicions are not sufficient to make void such a portion of history. It has been my endeavour to detect the fallacy, and to shew manifestly, that they are spurious: and I hope, that the authorities, to which I appeal, have sufficiently proved it.

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[s] According to Africanus, Menes preceded Conchares in the Cunic cycle, no less than 3835 years.

END OF VOL. IV.

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